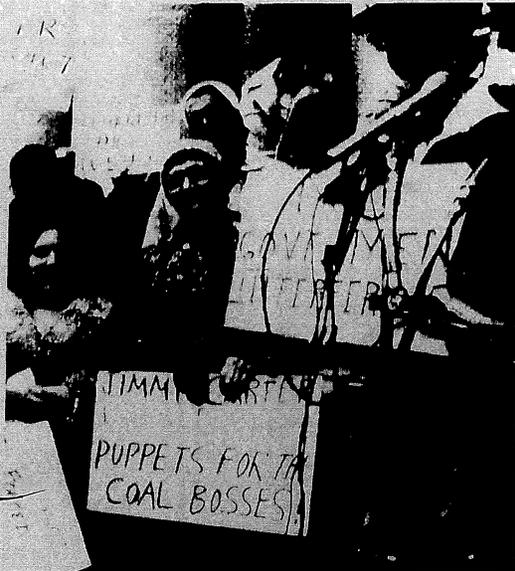


VICTORY TO THE MINERS!



Miners and their families demand better contract.

Tentative Settlement Includes Few New Gains

BY PAUL ALDRIDGE

MARCH 15—As we go to press, the leadership of the United Mine Workers union (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) have announced a new tentative settlement in the 100-day-old national coal strike. Both the coal bosses and the union leaders are describing it as a major concession to the miners. However, it falls far short of meeting the demands of the miners and should be rejected.

The main "concessions" made by the BCOA include:

- **The right to strike:** Since the strike began on December 6, one of the major demands of the miners has been the right to strike over

safety grievances. During the last year, over 140 miners were killed on the job. Only the militant miners' refusal to work under unsafe conditions kept the total from soaring higher. In the last year alone, unsafe working conditions sparked hundreds of wildcat strikes.

Under the previous proposal, anyone who "has picketed or otherwise been actively involved in causing an unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike shall be subject to discipline, including discharge." The new settlement drops this clause. Instead, the union leaders and the coal bosses have agreed to rely on a previous "anti-wildcat" ruling by the Arbitration Review Board (ARB)

The ARB ruling, no. 108, states that miners can be fired for wildcatting or even passing out literature calling for a strike. The union leaders claim that agreeing to this settlement will allow them to challenge this ruling in court should the bosses try to enforce it.

Under the new proposal militants will be at the mercy of the courts and the union leaders should the company fire them for wildcatting. Even if the union leaders challenge a firing under the ARB ruling, there is no guarantee that they would win. While dropping explicit penalties against wildcat leaders is a victory, the right to strike is by no means secured.

- **Health benefits:** Under (Continued on page 4)

Smith's Settlement a Fraud: BLACK PUPPETS FRONT FOR WHITE RULE IN ZIMBABWE

BY PAUL BENJAMIN

On March 3, Prime Minister Ian Smith signed an agreement to share political power with three Black political leaders in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). These politicians—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau—claim the settlement guarantees Black rule in Zimbabwe by December 31, 1978.

In fact, the settlement is a betrayal of the struggle against white rule. It allows the white minority ruling class to hide behind a few Black puppets, while it continues to oppress and exploit the people of Zimbabwe. Workers and peasants in Zimbabwe must reject this sellout and struggle to overthrow the traitors who agreed to it.

Agreement protects whites

What does the promise of "Black rule" actually mean? The agreement states that

Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau will join the racist butcher, Smith, on an executive council to draft a constitution and set up elections for a new government. All executive council decisions must be unanimous. This means that Smith has veto power over all decisions made by the transition government. As well, the agreement gives the white minority equal representation on a council of ministers which will take charge of day-to-day affairs.

The sellout also includes specific measures to protect the wealth and power of the white minority. These include:

- White control of the army, police, courts and prisons for at least 10 years.

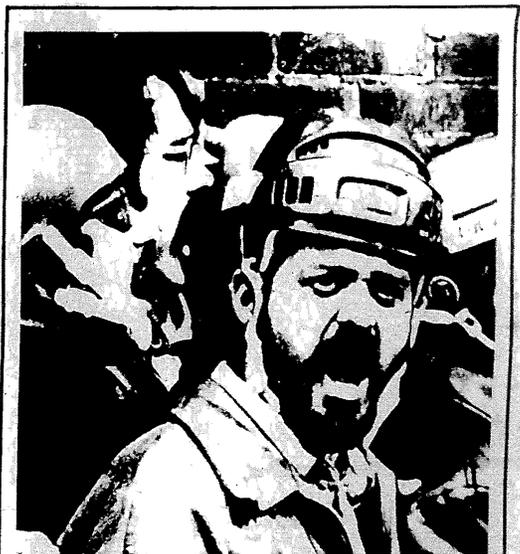
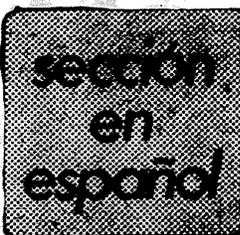
- Protection of white-owned private property. Whites are only four percent of the population, but they own 80 percent of Zimbabwe's wealth and almost half

of the land. If the new government expropriates any of this property which was stolen by the whites, it must pay "prompt" compensation—whether or not the white owners remain in the country.

- The white minority will maintain its control of the civil service, a stronghold of white supremacy.

- Civil service pensions are guaranteed. This allows

(Continued on page 14)



NAZIS ROUTED IN ST. LOUIS see page 3

our readers write...

Send letters to:
TORCH, PO Box 562,
N.Y., N.Y. 10036

More on the Vietnam-Kampuchea war

Dear Torch,
I thought the article in the last issue on the war between Vietnam and Kampuchea (Cambodia) was good in its analysis and conclusions. Vietnam is expansionist, and revolutionaries must defend Kampuchea's right to exist. A good, concrete example of this can be found in one of the underlying issues in the border war, and that is the conflicting territorial claims on

the oil-rich seabed in the Gulf of Thailand.

Vietnam, Kampuchea and Thailand are all involved in that dispute, but Vietnam and Thailand have tried to settle it between them, squeezing Kampuchea into a corner, by reaching an agreement which recognized Vietnam's claim to a 200-mile economic zone (that is, control over all waters between the borders and extending 200 miles out to sea). This agreement would allow Vietnam to take a huge slice out of what have traditionally been Kampuchean waters; these waters are also where some of the richest seabed is located. Kampuchea then issued a declaration of a 200-mile economic zone based on the 1939 "Brevie line," drawn by the French to divide their administrations of the two countries.

If the Vietnam-Thailand agreement stands, Kampuchea will be left with only a small wedge of sea territory under its control. The vast bulk of its territorial waters would be in the hands of its enemies. This would make naval defense of Kampuchea almost impossible. It would

also mean that Kampuchea is robbed of vast amounts of natural resources which would pass to its enemies, thus weakening Kampuchea even more.

Since 1975, Vietnam and Kampuchea have clashed continually over the control of small islands in the area, but the results have been indecisive. A Vietnamese victory in this war would mean that Vietnam is able to enforce its claims and annex Kampuchea's territorial waters. It is a classic example of capitalist justice: whether we are discussing individuals, classes or nations, your "rights" are only as real as your ability to defend them. Kampuchea has a right to the resources in the ocean that lies between its borders, and a right to establish a 200-mile limit for defensive purposes. Vietnam is ready to use military means to deny that right.

This issue adds weight to the Torch's position that Kampuchea must be defended against Vietnamese expansionism, despite the state-capitalist nature of the Kampuchean regime. By defending Kampuchea we are defending the right of nations to self-determination, a right which Vietnam is seeking to deny its neighbor

LR
New York

"Legals and illegals, we are victims of the same system, capitalism"

Dear Comrades:

The attacks of the capitalist system against the whole working class have become a lot more widely known lately, attacks not just against the working class as such, but against working people in general.

This shows that the capitalist system is dying. It is in its death agony and in its desperation to save its profits it won't stop at making victims of everyone... It doesn't mind perpetrating all sorts of atrocities, to make sure that they, the bourgeoisie, are free to exploit, to starve people to death, to violate human rights a thousand and one times. Yes, they can do this, since they have bought the law. They have enough control over the whole state to do and undo what they like. President Carter goes around preaching "human rights" to the whole world, but I don't understand what it is that Carter understands by "human rights." Possibly for this man human rights are: permitting daily exploitation on the job, and "La Migra" making raids against all the so-called illegal aliens. I don't understand why they don't allow us to enter their "country" to do honest work, seeing that we come to support this country's economy. Yes, he is free to rip off all of Mexico's natural riches. But he doesn't give us the freedom to work the land that once belonged to Mexico and which was stolen from it.

And it isn't just us, the so-called illegals, who are the victims of the system. Everyone in general, legals and illegals, Black and white, all of us together are victims in one form or another.

I would like to give you one example, since I who am writing this have lived it myself, like thousands or millions of those who will read this article.

I have been working for about five years in a place with about 75 employees. We are earning today what we earned five years ago. The boss in those days didn't pay "overtime." We reported him and he was forced to pay "overtime." Yes, but here comes the "but," that man used to give the employees with more time one week of vacation a year. Well, he cut it off. Why? Well, as the reward for having reported him. And if I forgot to tell you, all the people who lost their week's

vacation were people legally in this country.

Another example is a large furniture store, with about 400 employees, mostly newly married young women with dreams of having a family. There's a woman manager in that place, who wants to require all women who want to have children to first ask permission to get pregnant. At certain times such as Christmas when the work doubles, it is impossible for an employee to miss work or for a woman to have a baby, because she runs the risk of being fired for not having gotten permission to have her child at that time.

And I could show you thousands of other examples where American citizens are also victims of the system.

These people have weapons with which to fight for their rights (weapons such as their language, English, their citizenship, unions). If they are treated this way, what fate awaits the whole class of undocumented workers? But this shows us that each of us by ourselves can't do anything. The solution is one organization, one world-wide union of all the working class in general, legals and illegals, Black and white, to be able to make a socialist revolution where all the proletariat will have the power.

We have to and we must destroy capitalism for the betterment of ourselves and future generations.

HR
Los Angeles

Young militant writes on L.A. busing

Dear Torch,

In the Los Angeles area students are being integrated and bussed. That's no problem; the problem is what students do when they meet. Different students are of different cultures and races. When students are desegregated they tend to band together in groups. Whites in one group, Blacks in another, Mexicans in another and Asians, Indians, Armenians and so on.

These groupings are caused by racism. Racism in the working class is far more horrible than in any other class. Why? Because that prevents the workers from organizing together effectively!

The "ruling class" keeps workers down. They oppress workers. How? Easy, they put us down and pit us against each other, therefore we keep ourselves down. The way they keep us down is through racism. Also many other things but I will not go into them.

I also seem to find more lower class students being bussed. I feel that they are being bussed to better schools in the upper class neighborhoods. Why are the lower class neighborhood schools so bad? That is another way the "ruling class"

keeps workers down. They give us poor educations so we cannot advance in society. Workers must not be able to have progress or the ruling class will drown in their own blood.

I like your paper. Please consult me on this subject.

MLH
Los Angeles
P.S. By the way I'm a 13-year-old student.

RSL Launches Fund Drive

On March 15, the Revolutionary Socialist League launched a three-month fund drive to raise \$20,000. We appeal to all friends of the Torch/La Antorcha to help us reach this goal.

This money is needed to continue the recent expansion of our work in several areas. In the last year:

- We have expanded the Torch/La Antorcha from 20 pages to 24, more than doubling the size of La Antorcha. However, we are still short of our goal of making the Torch/La Antorcha a fully bilingual newspaper.

- We have greatly expanded our international work. We have established fraternal relations with the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica and greatly expanded discussions with revolutionary individuals and groups in Africa, Latin America and Europe.

- We have increased our work with prisoners. Today we are sending more than four times as many free Torch/La Antorcha subscriptions to prisoners than we did a year ago.

- We led the defense of two Black lesbians victimized for defending themselves against an attack by their anti-gay landlady. We have organized committees in Detroit and Chicago to fight Nazi and KKK terror. And we have continued to organize against South African apartheid and to fight the reactionary labor bureaucracy through our work in the unions.

- We have established a Los Angeles branch of the RSL. All these activities have involved major expenses. While the number of our members and supporters has grown, this alone is not enough to meet the increased expenses. Funds are now urgently needed to continue to expand our work.

Make checks or money orders payable to: RSL or the Torch/La Antorcha, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

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NAZIS ROUTED IN ST. LOUIS

RSL/BWDC LEADS ANTI-FASCIST PROTESTERS

SOUTH ST. LOUIS, March 12—Several thousand demonstrators won an important victory against Nazi-style fascism in this city yesterday. A planned march and rally by the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America was broken up by militant protesters, forcing the Nazis to flee under heavy police protection.

The Nazis were in St. Louis to hold a national convention. They intended their march and rally to be a major show of force. Instead, the uniformed storm-troopers were routed.

By the time the Nazis' flatbed truck arrived at the start of the planned parade route, thousands of people from this largely German and

retreat, abandoning Gravois Park to the anti-fascist forces, who held their own rally there.

RSL and BWDC speakers called for "all-out war against the Nazis," explaining that these promoters of racism, anti-Semitism and union-busting had no right to peddle their filth anywhere. One speaker was cheered when he linked the fascists to the coal bosses, urging support for the miners' strike.

While the rally was still in progress, word was received that the Nazis had returned to their hall, eight blocks away. A BWDC speaker called on the crowd to march on the Nazi headquarters. Chanting "Death to the Na-



St. Louis, March 11: Anti-fascist protesters battle cops protecting Nazi office.

mobilization. An hour before the Nazi march was scheduled to begin, nine RSL and BWDC organizers were picked up, placed in "preventive detention," and held in jail until the day's events had ended. The police also seized all the picket signs, leaflets, and other literature, which the militants were bringing to the demonstration.

Orders over police radios instructed the cops to go after the red-helmeted members of the RSL and BWDC who were leading the anti-fascist forces. Two RSL supporters were arrested.

At the same time, the cops bent over backwards to serve the Nazis. They even went so far as to bring the Nazis a fresh change of clothes at the station house, so they could cover up their uniforms and sneak away unnoticed. Not surprisingly, Frank Collin, leader of the Nazi group, was full of praise for the St. Louis cops.

The Nazis had hoped that over 150 uniformed fascists would gather in St. Louis to build a unified national Nazi organization. Instead, only 43 of the racist scum showed up, and they spent their day running from thousands of anti-fascist demonstrators.

Nazi leader Collin had called the planned St. Louis march and rally a "warm-up" for a mass march the Nazis are planning in Skokie, Illinois, on April 20. The rout of the Nazis in St. Louis will give anti-fascist forces added strength in their efforts to organize to crush the Nazis if they dare appear on the streets of Skokie.

The Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee spent many weeks organizing to make sure the Nazis didn't get away with their plans in St. Louis. This careful preparation paid off, as the Nazis were frustrated at every turn.

However, the military struggle against the Nazis is only one aspect of the anti-Nazi fight. The RSL recognizes that the root of Nazi-style racism is decaying capitalism. The only way to decisively defeat the fascist forces is to build a revolutionary, working-class movement that can overthrow capitalism itself.

All workers—Black, Latin, Asian and white—must be united around a program that fights for jobs for all, an end to all discrimination, decent

schools and housing, the rebuilding of the cities and similar needs of the whole working class. Such a program must also include a fight to mobilize the trade unions in the anti-Nazi struggle.

Through the struggle for demands such as these, the working class can unite, isolate the fascists, and in the end destroy capitalism itself. The fight to smash the Nazis and the fight to overthrow rotting capitalism are one and the same.



Demonstrators chant "Death to the Nazis."

Polish community had already gathered. Unable to even get off their truck the Nazis cancelled their march. Instead, they quickly drove through the march route, chanting "White Power." The angry crowd responded by hurling stones, bottles and snowballs at the Nazis.

The Nazi truck headed off for Gravois Park, the site of a scheduled rally. But a crowd of over 500 anti-Nazi protesters, led by red-helmeted members of the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Black and White Defense Committee (BWDC), took up pursuit of the Nazis. Again the Nazis were forced to

retreat, abandoning Gravois Park to the anti-fascist forces, who held their own rally there.

Warned of the approaching crowd, the cops whisked the Nazis from their meeting into "protective custody" at police headquarters. Scores of additional cops lined the street in front of the Nazi hall. The demonstrators tried to break through the police lines, but were driven back by club-swinging cops dressed in full riot gear and police attack dogs. No serious injuries were reported on either side.

Throughout the day the St. Louis cops worked overtime to bust up the anti-Nazi

Nazis Stab Detroit Woman

DETROIT March 13—The Nazi attempt to hold a convention in St. Louis this weekend is only one sign of increased fascist activity around the country. Here in Detroit, the Nazis recently opened up a "White Power Bookstore" to peddle their filth.

Shortly after the racist bookstore opened, the RSL launched the Workers Defense Committee (WDC) to take up the fight against the Nazis. The WDC has held a number of demonstrations at the bookstore and has carried out a widespread leafletting campaign to educate people about the Nazi "threat."

Recently, several bureaucrats from UAW Local 700 organized the Labor Council Joint Council Against the Nazis. Thus far, the bureaucrats have prevented the council from adopting a militant strategy to fight the Nazis. They have opposed WDC motions to form defense guards and to organize a militant struggle for jobs, housing and education. Instead, the council leadership is appealing to Detroit's ruling class to outlaw the Nazis and is telling workers to "obey the law"—that is, allow the Nazis to organize and march in the streets.

The bankruptcy of this strategy was made clear at a February 19 meeting of the council. During the meeting, workers discovered that three Nazis were present. When several militants, including supporters of the RSL and WDC, attempted to take action against the Nazis, Local 600 bureaucrats intervened to prevent the confrontation.

Moments after the Nazis left, a WDC member outside the meeting was attacked. When a second WDC supporter, Jan Friedman, came to his defense, the Nazi pulled out a knife and slashed her twice in the leg. She was taken to a hospital where she received 20 stitches.

That the Nazis were able to get away with this attack, right under the noses of the council leadership, makes it clear that the bureaucrats' strategy will only encourage Nazi terrorism. The RSL will continue to build the WDC to guarantee that a militant campaign is waged against the Nazis. At the same time, the forces organized by the WDC will fight for a militant strategy inside the council.



Miners Defy Taft-Hartley

The following article was written before the new tentative settlement was announced. It discusses the miners' response to the Taft-Hartley injunction and Carter's strike-breaking strategy.

The overwhelming majority of the 180,000 striking miners are refusing to obey the Taft-Hartley back-to-work order. On the first day the order was in effect, less than 100 miners showed up for work. Not one miner returned in Ohio and only a handful reported for work in West Virginia.

The Carter Administration is stepping up efforts to enforce the injunction. But it is not likely that the miners will abandon their three-month-old strike. Three times in the past, the ranks of the United Mine Workers union (UMW) have ignored Taft-Hartley injunctions. "No Contract, No Work" is the miners' answer to the strike-breaking actions of President Carter and the coal bosses.

"I'm going to defy the president"

The miners' hatred for Taft-Hartley runs deep. When Taft-Hartley first became law in 1947, 200,000 miners struck in protest. These feelings are just as strong today. As one miner said: "I've been a defier all my life. I've defied the operators and the union, and now I'm going to defy the president of the United States."

During the hearings in preparation for issuing the current injunction, not one UMW representative was willing to promise that the miners would accept the order. A local union president from Virginia explained, when asked about how he was going to deal with the injunction: "I've got no choice but to return. But, if I get a call that if I step in a union mine I'll get my head blown off, I'll stay home. I expect that call."

Moreover, the miners are prepared to do whatever is necessary to defend their strike. "If Carter sends in the troops, we'll have a Vietnam

in this country. If he's asking for war, he's going to get one," a Pennsylvania miner warned.

Carter threatens miners' strike

This situation developed after the miners' vote on the "final" contract offer from the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). By March 6, it was clear that the miners had rejected the offer and would continue their strike. That night, Carter appeared on national television to announce that he would ask for a court injunction under the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

Under the cover of "protecting the national interests," Carter threatened to force the miners back to work. On March 9, he appealed to the federal courts for the back-to-work order. Later that day, a federal judge ordered the miners to return to work for an 80-day "cooling-off period."

Under the injunction, the members and officers of the UMW are restrained "(a) from continuing, encouraging, ordering, aiding, engaging or taking part in any strikes... in the bituminous coal industry of the U.S. and (b) from interfering with or affecting the orderly continuance of work in the bituminous coal industry of the U.S."

To help enforce the injunction, Carter offered the

use of U.S. marshals, the FBI and federal troops to the governors of 15 states affected by the strike. As a final slap in the face, Carter threatened to cut off food stamps to the striking miners.

Despite his claim of "neutrality," Carter is playing strike-breaker for the coal bosses. In the short run, he hopes that enough miners will trickle back to work to take the edge off the coal shortages created by the strike. He is especially interested in reopening the strip mines in southern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and western Kentucky. These surface mines can reach full production rapidly.

Over time, Carter hopes the reopening of a few surface mines and a few deep mines in more conservative UMW districts will undermine the confidence of the miners. If Carter breaks the miners' unity, he can then push for negotiations at the district and local level.

VICTORY TO THE MINERS!

(Continued from page 1)

the contract rejected over the March 4 weekend, miners would have been forced to pay up to \$700 in deductibles each year under a new medical insurance plan. The tentative settlement reduces this amount to \$200 per year with all hospitalization paid.



Miners burn copy of proposed contract.

The threat of a complete breakdown in national negotiations has already forced the UMW leadership and the BCOA to resume negotiations. Neither side wants to return to the chaos of company-by-company bargaining. This is particularly dangerous to the faction-ridden UMW. The very existence of the national union is at stake in reaching a uniform agreement.

To further weaken the bargaining position of the miners, Carter is stepping up the shipment of scab coal. In mid-February, Indiana Governor Otis Bowen ordered 350 National Guardsmen to help state troopers move scab coal to hard-hit power stations. After Carter decided to use Taft-Hartley, the governors of Virginia and Illinois sent out state troopers to protect scab coal shipments in their states.

These strike-breaking actions will become more widespread in the coming days. Combined with buying electrical power from the western states, most midwest power companies will avert any serious cutbacks. The miners will have to stop the movement of scab coal to maintain the full effectiveness of the strike.

Attitudes toward seizure of mines divided

The government still has one more alternative left if the miners continue to hold out against Taft-Hartley. Carter can ask Congress to pass legislation that will give the government ownership of the mines for 90 days. Seizure of the mines means that miners would return to work for the government. The terms for resuming work would be negotiated by the government and the union. In turn, these terms would become the basis for a settlement with the BCOA.

In the coalfields, attitudes toward government seizure

are divided. One militant, a union safety committee chairman, explained: "Government seizure is just Taft-Hartley with the flag wrapped around it." However, many miners believe that it would mean a better settlement.

This illusion must be combatted. The miners have never gotten anything from the bosses or the government that they didn't fight for. The government has seized the mines in the past and each time the miners have had to fight tooth-and-nail for any gains that were won. An example of this is the 1943 coal strike.

Miners fought government in 1943 strike

At the beginning of World War II, President F.D. Roosevelt was given a "no-strike" pledge by the reformist and Stalinist union leaders. The betrayal strengthened the imperialist war effort and left the workers defenseless in the face of skyrocketing prices, resulting from rampant profiteering by the capitalists. Early in 1943



Strikebreaker Carter.

Following a year of bitter strikes by other workers, the UMW began negotiations with the coal bosses. The union demanded a \$2-a-day wage increase and pay from the time

(Continued on next page)

gain of 25 cents over the last proposal.

The outcome of the vote on the proposed settlement will not be known for at least 10 days. Even if the miners accept, their strike will still be a victory over the coal bosses. The owners set out to break the militant miners' movement and take away many of the gains won in the past. The miners have grown stronger in the course of the strike and have forced the owners to retreat.

However, the contract does not satisfy the crucial needs of the miners. The miners have the coal bosses by the throat. They are successfully holding out against the government's attempt to break their strike. The mines are closed and working-class support for the miners is growing. Miners should vote no on the proposed contract. Real concessions on the right to strike and the full restoration of medical benefits and pensions can be won by continuing the strike. □

Throughout the strike, the miners have been demanding a full restoration of their medical benefits. Last summer, 80,000 miners wildcatted when the coal bosses tried to make them pay \$500 a year on their medical bills. The proposed contract does away with the "cradle-to-grave" medical coverage the miners won in 1950.

• **Pensions:** The proposed contract will immediately raise the pensions of miners who retired before the end of 1976 to \$275 a month.

This still means that the older retirees will receive \$225 less than the miners who retired after 1976. Miners have demanded that pensions be equalized at \$500 a month. In effect, the bosses are asking the working miners to sell out the older miners—in many cases their own fathers.

• **Total wages and benefits:** Under the new settlement miners will receive a \$4.97 per hour increase over three years in total wages and benefits. This is a

(Continued from page 4) they entered the mine until they left at the end of the shift.

Following a second extension of the strike deadline, Roosevelt issued an order on April 8 denying all wage increases. Even though the UMW leadership extended the deadline again to May 1, the rank and file responded on April 24 by walking out of the mines. By May 1, over 530,000 miners were on strike. The same day, Roosevelt seized the mines and ordered the miners back to work.

During the next five months, the miners struck and returned to work twice in defiance of Roosevelt and the government. Finally, when the miners walked out for the fourth time in late October, Roosevelt admitted defeat. He ordered the Secretary of the Interior to sign a contract with the UMW. The miners received a \$1.50-a-day increase. Through determined struggle, the miners had broken the wage freeze.

Capitalist state serves bosses

There are two important lessons that must be learned from the struggle of the miners against government seizure. First, and most important, the capitalist government, whether it is led by

Roosevelt or Carter, exists to defend the interests of the capitalist class. Each time the government intervened in a coal strike, it was on the side of the owners. There is nothing "neutral" about the role of the U.S. government.

Second, the struggle of the miners in the 1940s and today shows that the government and the bosses can be defeated. But neither the government nor the bosses will give up anything without a fight. As has been proven in the past, the key to victory is militant unity and struggle.

Miners show power of working class

The miners are striking to protect the gains they won in the 1940s. Once again, they are defying the capitalists and their state. The miners' strike is the most militant demonstration of worker solidarity and unity in the last 30 years of U.S. labor history.

The miners, 160,000 strong, have sent shockwaves through the entire capitalist economy. In large sections of the East and Midwest, they have a stranglehold on capitalist industry. But to win their strike, they need the active support of all working and oppressed people.

Since the 1950s, the union movement has been rela-

tively passive. There have been few examples of militant class struggle against the bosses. The miners are setting this example now. Through their strike, they are proving that as workers, we have power.

The rank and file of the

trade unions must take the lead in mobilizing this power in support of the miners. Militants must explain why the miners are striking and why it is important that they win. Demonstrations demanding an end to Carter's strike-breaking must be

built. This organizing work should also take up the demand for a nationwide general strike in defense of the miners. A victory for the miners is a victory for all workers and oppressed people.

Support for Coal Strike Builds

Early in the strike the coal bosses were bragging: "If the miners don't want to accept our terms, they can starve." And for a while it looked like the coal bosses might be right. Without strike funds, counting on their personal savings and food stamps, the miners were hard pressed just to survive in their battle with the mine owners.

Over the last few months, there has been a growing effort to make sure that the miners don't starve. Unionists, unorganized workers, students and left groups are showing that the miners' fight is the fight of all working and oppressed people. Union resolutions in support of the miners have been passed by the thousands. Hundreds of thousands of dollars in food, clothing and cash have been collected and taken to the coalfields.

• Striking farmers left Campbell, Missouri, in a mile-long caravan, bringing bags of flour and other staples to the miners. When they arrived in Muhlenburg, Kentucky, a rally was held in support of both strikes.

• On February 25, members of Local 22, UAW, set out for the coalfields with \$10,000 worth of canned food and clothing and \$14,000 in cash. A 60-car caravan was needed to transport the contributions collected in auto plants throughout the Detroit area.

• The members of Local 600, the largest UAW local in the country, sent \$12,000 worth of shoes and lent \$10,000 in cash to the District 17 UMW relief fund.

• The UAW International made good its promise of support for the striking miners, sending \$2 million to the miners' relief fund.

• The United Electrical Workers sent 13 truckloads of food to Cokesburg, Pennsylvania.

This is only a partial list of the contributions that have been sent to the miners. The UMW has also received pledges of support from the United Steelworkers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and the International Union of Electrical Workers. With the exception of the AFL-CIO, which claimed they didn't contribute because they hadn't been asked, most international unions have been pressured by the rank and file to make good on their verbal support to the miners.

This support must continue. Carter is trying to take away the miners' right to food stamps. Support from the rest of the labor movement will help the miners to withstand this attack and maintain their strike.

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Aerospace strike continues

The strike against McDonnell Douglas is moving into its third month at plants in California. Over 8,000 members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) have been on strike against the aircraft manufacturer since January 14.

The strike was triggered by management's refusal to accept the pattern settlement established by a strike of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) against Boeing last fall. McDonnell Douglas is offering 30 cents less than the \$1.50-an-hour wage increase contained in the Boeing agreement. In addition, management is demanding take-aways in the cost-of-living allowance, medical coverage, and other areas.

The McDonnell strike is being weakened through the failure of the IAM to participate in the strike. Forty-eight hundred IAM members are working at McDonnell Douglas without a contract. A majority of the IAM ranks want to join their UAW brothers and sisters on the picket lines, but the bureaucrats are doing all they can to keep them working. A united struggle by the ranks of the IAM and the UAW is necessary to win the strike.

Bosses plan union-busting drive

Professional union-busting organizations are planning major actions for 1978. The National Right to Work Committee (NRTWC) will be pushing for laws in nine states that would outlaw the union shop. The target states are Idaho, New Mexico, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Colorado, Missouri, Montana, and Indiana.

The NRTWC is a powerful and well-financed organization. Last year it raised \$8.5 million from corporations and private contributors. With many influential politicians dependent on the NRTWC for public support and funds at election time, the NRTWC has a lot of clout in Congress. Twice it has led successful efforts to defeat passage of the

pro-union Common Situs Bill.

Joining the NRTWC this year is the Council on a Union-Free Environment, a group set up by the National Association of Manufacturers. Its main activity is advising employers how to smash union organizing attempts, and how to break up existing unions.

These scab organizations underline the need for revolutionary leadership in the unions. Only a full mobilization of the union rank and file can smash these union-busting outfits. The present union bureaucrats have no intention of organizing this struggle.

Gov't threatens ILA, Teamsters

On February 1, the Labor Department filed a civil suit against Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons and 18 other Teamster officials. The government is seeking damages for mismanagement of the multi-billion-dollar Teamster pension funds. The Labor Department also warned that possible violations of criminal law have turned up in its investigation.

A month later, the Justice Department filed for about two dozen criminal indictments, naming officers of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The charges include extortion, bribery, theft of union pension funds, fraud and labor racketeering.

There is little doubt that most or all of the government's charges are true. The union ranks, however, must oppose these legal actions. The real purpose of these investigations is to weaken the unions and increase the government's power over the unions—not to fight corruption.

Rank-and-file workers must struggle to take control of the unions and use these powerful organizations to fight for their own interests. To allow the government to increase its control over the unions would be a disastrous setback to this struggle. The government is a far stronger enemy than the bureaucrats. The rank and file must burge

every attempt the government makes to interfere in the internal life of the unions.

Autoworkers fight harassment

A new wave of layoffs is beginning to hit autoworkers in Detroit. Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three auto companies, has already laid off 1,000 workers at its Sterling Heights Stamping plant and 500 at the Warren Stamping plant. Production has been cut back at the Mound Road Engine plant to one shift.

Chrysler is trying to cut its losses by increasing productivity. Along with the layoffs, this means speedup, a general disregard for safety, and increased management harassment.

With the UAW bureaucracy refusing to lift a finger, it has been up to the rank-and-file workers to organize a defense against these attacks. Workers at the Warren Stamping plant, including supporters of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC), turned out for their February union meeting to demand action on a series of firings and an end to management's harassment of women workers in the plant. After red-baiting the RAC supporters, the bureaucrats claimed that women were not abused by the foremen. They also defended management's firings, while attacking the fired workers. Finally, under pressure of the workers at the meeting, the bureaucrats agreed to reopen the case of one of the fired workers.

At Warren Tank, a Chrysler plant outside Detroit, 65 workers showed up at the February 26 union meeting. They were there to protest the speedup firings and harassment of recent weeks. The Warren Tank Organizer, a rank-and-file newsletter, had publicized these conditions in the plant. Again, under pressure, the union leaders were forced to take a strike authorization vote, which was passed.

These actions point the way forward for workers throughout the industry. If management attacks are going to be stopped, the rank and file of the union must organize the fight themselves.

—CG & PA



Latin Prisoners Organize at Elmira

Roxanne Gay "acquitted"

On March 10, Roxanne Gay was "acquitted" in a New Jersey court for the stabbing death of Blenda Gay, her husband. The state ruled that Roxanne Gay was insane when she killed her husband—suffering from delusions of persecution. The judge also claimed that Roxanne Gay is still insane, and she will now have to waste years of her life in a mental institution.

Blenda Gay, a professional football player, beat Roxanne Gay on many occasions. A neighbor commented: "It sounded like he literally bounced her head off the wall." Roxanne Gay had had enough, and she stabbed Blenda. But the nightmare didn't end for Roxanne Gay once her husband was dead.

During the trial, the court was more worried about the "good name" of Blenda Gay than it was about the fact that he was a wife-beater. A psychiatrist for the prosecution, Dr. Robert Sadoff, even denied that Blenda beat Roxanne at all! He claimed that what was going on was "playful roughhousing" which Roxanne "expanded in her mind."

Under capitalism, defending yourself or fighting back against abuse is considered a crime or insane. Living through beating after beating in the name of "marital bliss" is considered proper and sane. So it's no wonder that the state is using mental health as its excuse to put Roxanne Gay away. We say it's right for people to fight back against the oppression they face under capitalism. We say the state has no right to send Roxanne Gay to its mental institution.

Free the Prairie Fire Five!

On February 1, five militants accused of planning terrorist activities were indicted by a Los Angeles County grand jury. According to spokesmen for the FBI, they were arrested while in the process of plotting to bomb the Fullerton office of California State Senator John V. Briggs. Briggs is a notorious anti-gay bigot who has given support to a statewide ballot to ban gays from teaching in California public schools.

The five militants arrested are Judith Emily Bissell, Leslie Ann Mullin, Marc Curtis Perry, Thomas Michael Justesen and Clayton Van Lydegraff. They are reportedly members of a splinter faction of the Weather Underground called the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. They are charged with possessing a destructive device in a public place, conspiracy, possession of bomb components, and other charges. The FBI also claims that the five were planning other bombings.

The Revolutionary Socialist League does not believe that individual acts of terrorism further the fight against capitalism. However, that is not the main question in this case. Whether or not the five were actually involved in bomb attempts, the capitalist state has no right to judge them. We urge all revolutionaries to defend these sisters and brothers from the state's attack on them.

NY legislators push death-penalty law

As we go to press, the New York State Legislature is ending debate on a new version of a capital punishment bill. This bill would allow the ruling class to execute people who are convicted of "intentional murders." Last year, a similar bill passed in the Legislature, but was vetoed by New York Governor Carey. This year, a campaign has been mounted to get the two-thirds majority needed to over-ride a veto.

The bourgeois press has done its part in this campaign. They have run story after story about young people murdering old people, young people in gangs, and sensationalist articles about "Son of Sam."

If the fight over the death penalty remains between the Legislature and Carey, this bill or one just like it will eventually pass. Carey's objections to the death penalty are based on moralism. And moralists have never kept the ruling class from butchering working and oppressed people.

The working class must wage a real struggle against the death penalty. The workers must build a movement that says the ruling class has no right to judge anyone in this society because the real criminal is capitalism.

In the past year, the number of prisoners receiving free subscriptions to the **Torch/La Antorcha** has increased over four times. In addition, we are sending more and more revolutionary literature to prisoners around the country. Lack of funds keeps us from sending prisoners all the literature they need. Several months ago, we launched the Prisoner Literature Fund to increase the amount of literature we can send out. We encourage all readers of the **Torch/La Antorcha** to donate to the fund. Those who can make a donation or a monthly pledge, no matter how small, should do so. This money will be used exclusively to send revolutionary literature to prisoners. Send contributions to: **Prisoner Literature Fund, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.**

—FH

Dear Comrade:

The Elmira Correctional Facility (known to many as "The Hill") is a medium security institution which holds 1,200 inmates. The food which is served here isn't fit for dogs, the beans are always burned, the rice is sometimes soggy or too stuck together to eat. After eating the mashed potatoes, if one drinks a glass of water it will dissolve, the salad is out of this world (meaning that to eat it one must eliminate all UFO's), the coffee can drive your car for 4 miles or 60 hours. One takes a shower and before he finishes drying up his feet, he's dirty again, because there are no mats to protect his feet, mildew is all over the place. The silver pipes are turning green, and the drain system is no good.

The Kangaroo Court (Administrative Committee or Disciplinary board) have kept locked many brothers regardless if they were right or wrong. If one gets beaten up, even if he didn't swing back, he gets seven or 14 days keep-lock for fighting. I'm sure you've heard of the recent demonstration Elmira, Coxsack and Great Meadow correctional officers had, to try and get commissioner B. Ward out of office. Well, they're using the excuse that we inmates have increased as-

saults against the officers 300 percent since he's been in office. This is true, but that's not because of Benjamin Ward, it's because the officers have increased their harassment. I'm not saying that Benjamin Ward is doing a good job, because whether it be a capitalist or Uncle Tom, the prison system will still be destructive to those who enter it.

The Latin Dialogue Organization started around March 1972. The purpose of the organization was to teach the Hispanic population their cultural, historical and political background. Then sometime during 1974 or '75, we added Marxist-Leninist theory, party building, capitalism, black nationalism, etc. But as it stands today, the organization has been crippled by this administration because it has labeled brothers as revolutionaries, trouble makers, etc. It has transferred every coordinator that has functioned as he's supposed to. They demoted our time from 2 hours and 15 minutes to an hour and 30 minutes. They have just recently stepped up their harassment against members of the organization. They have harassed volunteers who come from the outside to lend us a hand. They have twice stole our Puerto Rican Liberation Flag. Twice we almost

had to riot to get it back. They take a month and a half to admit a new member to the organization, etc etc.

What the Latin Dialogue Organization is struggling for is the Liberation of Puerto Rico and the rest of the Latin American Countries from imperialist rule. I personally base my objectives on an internationalist level, for all oppressed people are my people.

I have written to many organizations out there for support and possibly a



helping hand, and out of every organization I have written to, so far you are the only one who has given us the little support you can give. Without support from the outside I can't even attempt to fight against these Racists, Redneck, Uncle Toms and Puerto Rican traitors that have so damaged the lives of so many brothers. I spend the \$11.50 I receive from the state on books for the organizations, and that leaves me broke because I get no funds from my family. I spend most of my time trying to educate as many brothers that I can. I stay up until the wee hours of the morning writing letters for support, and all I'm doing is wasting a lot of ink and paper for nothing. Because sometimes I don't even get a reply from the M.F.s....

It's one thing to get stepped on by this administration and have the people outside call us animals. But it burns me to be stepped on also by the people denouncing this system. I have thought so many times of leaving the struggle, forget the people's war and just take care of number one, but I always had the ideology that "It's when things get rough, that one must struggle even harder." This is the only thing that has kept me going so long.

In closing let me say that "In struggle shall we fight, with unity shall we win, but with no support we will lose in the end."

In peace and unity,
AH
Elmira

Support the August 8th Brigade!

On August 8, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross on a hill above Napanoch prison in New York. With that, the prison blew up. Prisoners took over housing block B-3 and took 11 hostages. They demanded decent food, passage of a good time bill which would cut minimum sentences, amnesty for all those involved in the rebellion, and removal of racist guards.

The administration promised to review the grievances and supposedly granted amnesty to all the brothers involved in the rebellion. So in good faith the brothers ended the rebellion.

Since then, the keepers and the state have gone on a terror campaign. Forty-three brothers were thrown into segregation and then shipped to prisons all over the state. Ten brothers have been indicted on charges including first-degree rioting and first-degree attempted coercion and assault. Eight of the 10 are Latin.

The keepers have been trying to keep the prisoners from getting any mail. A frame-up trial is being set up. But the prisoners have continued to fight! They formed the August 8th Brigade to expose the racist oppression in the prisons and to defend the brothers who are being framed. Recently, they filed a class action suit to keep the prison bosses from tampering with their mail.

The August 8th Brigade needs a lot of support. They've got to contend with KKK guards, sadistic keepers and the racist court system. The August 8th Brigade has no money and, so far, only minimal outside support.

Readers of the **Torch/La Antorcha** can help. People on the outside can send contributions for the defense. Brothers and sisters in the prisons can write messages of support and solidarity. Send letters and contributions to the **Torch/La Antorcha** and we will forward them to the Brigade. Send to: **Torch/La Antorcha, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.**

Boston:

NEW RULING THREATENS GAYS AND YOUTH

In December, the Judicial Supreme Court of Massachusetts upheld the fairness and "legality" of the state's laws against prostitutes. The court also ruled that these oppressive laws should be applied to male prostitutes just as readily as they are to women prostitutes.

Last month, Joseph M. Jordan, the Commissioner of Boston's police force, showed how the court's new decision will be used. He instructed police in Boston to arrest men and women suspected of prostitution on an "equal" basis. What he didn't say is that prostitution charges are one of the threats police always use to keep gays "in their place." This new policy means that gays—and young gays, in particular—will face even more harassment and arrests than they do now.

Gay people who meet in the parks and the streets because they do not like or cannot afford to get into the few places where society now allows homosexuals to socialize openly will be easy prey for the police. For gay youth, who have no place at all to meet each other and be open about their sexuality, the new policy has one message: "Stay in the closet!"

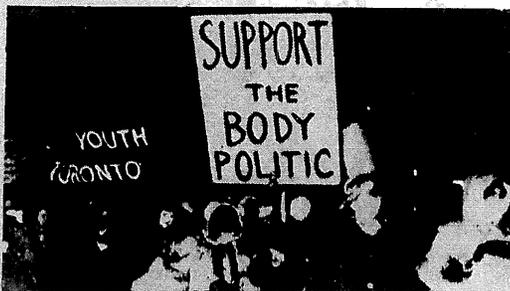
It is no accident that this new police policy is being enforced now. Anti-gay sentiment in Boston has been roused following the news that a group of older homosexual men were paying high-school age boys for sex in Revere, a working-class suburb of Boston. Ever since Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign last summer in Dade County, Florida, right-wing, anti-gay forces have used the claim of "protecting youth" as a way to win support for their attack on gays. In late December, police raided the offices of *The Body Politic*, a gay magazine in Toronto, using the same excuse. They then proceeded to harass and

arrest young gays who demonstrated in the magazine's defense.

Now the Boston cops have been given the go-ahead to step up the at-

and how to act.

For gay youth it's worse. They have to fight all the lies they are taught about homosexuality—usually without the chance to even



Marchers defend gay paper attacked by Canadian government.

tacks. But the truth is that anti-gay forces couldn't care less about the rights of young people. They are freaked out by the idea of young people having any say in determining their own lives—especially when it comes to sex. When they say "protecting youth," they really mean controlling youth. And they don't stop at controlling the sexuality of gay youth. They want to make all young people conform to their sick ideas about sex. This means conforming to all the lies about "what a man is" and "what a woman is" that just keep people oppressed.

Gays and youth fight the same enemy

Young people and gay people are among the most oppressed people in society today. Society tries to convince everyone that all homosexuals are child-molesters, and that all young people are immature, unable to think for themselves or know what they need. Barely any place exists in society where young people are not lorded over by some adult authority telling them what to do

meet someone else who is gay. Whenever a young gay person tries to exercise his or her right to be gay, he or she faces harassment from the authorities, especially from the police. Now, under the guise of "protecting" youth from sexual exploitation by adults, the police have been given even more power to keep young people "in their place."

Capitalists control people's lives

The way society is now, the capitalists control everyone's lives for their own purposes. Their purpose is to get richer and richer off our work and lives. Under capitalism, everything gets turned into money, even our bodies, even our needs for love and sex. And if you can't get something to sell—even if it means selling your body—then you might as well crawl in a hole and die.

Capitalism creates prostitution. This is especially true for the prostitution among young women and young men. If you are young in this society, your chances of becoming what you want to be are cut off at every turn. If you try to fight against the limita-

tions on your freedom, you are labelled a "problem kid" and forced to be "rehabilitated" in government youth programs. Or else you are completely abandoned by society and forced to fend for yourself. Many young people become "run-aways" in order to escape their oppression. Then they must face the worst that this society can dish out—slave jobs at shit pay, prostitution, you name it—simply because they are easy victims.

It is because of this oppression that a large number of the people who have become male homosexual prostitutes are under 18 years old. And what is the state's solution to the sexual exploitation of young people?—Repression of gays! Repression of youth!

End sexual exploitation

Capitalism will never be

able to end sexual exploitation, or any other kind of exploitation. In fact, it keeps looking for new ways to exploit people. The more capitalism can exploit and repress to break the will of the working class and all oppressed people—including gays and youth—the more the capitalist rulers strengthen their stranglehold on society. This is the real purpose behind the new police policy in Boston.

Working and oppressed people must fight against police repression—whether it's against gays or youth or prostitutes. We must fight to overthrow the capitalists by smashing their state and taking the control of society into our own hands—the hands of the working class and all the oppressed. Only then will we be able to create a society where we can abolish all forms of exploitation and create real freedom for all working and oppressed people.

Prisoner Suits Fight Torch Ban

As we reported last month, federal and state prison authorities around the country have banned the *Torch/La Antorcha*. The prison keepers fear the developing, revolutionary consciousness among prisoners, and are trying to prevent them from reading the *Torch/La Antorcha*. As part of building a fight against the bannings, we asked that prisoners inform us every time the *Torch/La Antorcha* is withheld, and of any victories prisoners win on this issue.

We have since heard from two prisoners who have won court battles in defense of their rights. One prisoner at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers won a decision forcing the keepers to allow a previously banned issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha* into the prison. The second victory was won by a prisoner at the Clinton Correctional Facility in New York over his right to communicate with other prisoners. These are both important victories.

The Somers victory is important in two ways. First, it means that Connecticut prisons will have more difficulty keeping the *Torch/La Antorcha* out. Second, although the decision is only legally binding in Connecticut, it is an important precedent for the legal battles to come. Prisoners can use this decision as ammunition in forcing other states to recognize their right to receive the *Torch/La Antorcha*. We will provide specific information about the decision to prisoners on request.

More specifically, the Somers decision will be a valuable precedent in a federal suit being filed by prisoners through the National Prison Project, an ACLU affiliate. This suit is aimed at the entire federal prison system and, if successful, will be a major victory for the prisoners. We have accepted an invitation to join the suit and are waiting for confirmation.

The victory on correspondence, while not directly connected with the *Torch/La Antorcha*, is an important gain. When prisoners begin to organize, the keepers transfer them to other prisons to bust up their groups. The correspondence ban enforces this repression. This victory means that prisoners now have an opening to fight this tactic. They can maintain unity and not become isolated from their comrades.

The struggle to receive political literature is not new. Prisoners have won a series of court fights over the years which have established this right. This right is key if prisoners are to learn the roots of their oppression and be able to organize to fight it.

But the keepers don't respect the victories that prisoners have already won. They regard last-year's victories as old news. As a result, prisoners' rights have to be fought for and won again and again.

These initial victories, as well as the pending federal suit, are only the first steps in this new round of struggle. Lasting victories will only be won as prisoners unite with the revolutionary workers' movement in a common struggle to smash capitalism and the conditions that maintain the prisons as we know them. □

Gay Prisoner Murdered

On January 31, Arthur Dubay, a 19-year-old gay prisoner at the Sumter County Correctional Facility in Bushnell, Florida, was raped and murdered. Dubay was strangled after being raped by an unknown number of assailants. The state has decided that it will press charges against "two or three" prisoners for the rape/murder.

The prison keepers and the state are not concerned with any real justice in this case. In fact, they are accomplices to the rape and murder. The prison keepers knew that Dubay had been harassed before. He had asked for protection and never received any.

Moreover, the ruling class is responsible for the conditions that breed these crimes. They keep the prisoners locked up in cages. They deny them any legal right to express their sexuality. And the illegal expression—the rapes—normally go unnoticed, or are even encouraged by the prison keepers.

To cover this, the keepers pretend that it is the homosexuals in the prisons who do the raping. This is a lie. The rapists in the prisons are usually the same kind of sadistic thugs who rape or beat women on the outside. Gay prisoners and young prisoners are often on the receiving end. Gays and youth in prison are treated in the same kind of way that women are treated in society in general. Every now and then, the state comes down on the thugs it has trained. This is what is happening now.

In fact, no prisoner benefits from the oppression of gay prisoners. Sexism in men's prisons keeps every prisoner under the control of the keepers.

In some prisons across the country militant prisoners, gay and straight, are uniting to defend the rights of gay prisoners. By overcoming sexism in the prisons, the prisoners are able to organize against the real enemy. □

Eritreans and Somalis Fight for Self-Determination



Small women liberation fighters.

BY TONY CURZO

War is raging on the Horn of Africa. Oppressed peoples in Eritrea and the Ogaden region are fighting for the right to split off from Ethiopia and determine their own political future. On the other side, Ethiopia's military government is fighting to preserve its national empire. A closer look at Eritrea and the Ogaden will help to clarify the issues at stake in these conflicts.

Eritrea is a country of three and a half million people in the northern part of the Ethiopian empire. In the highland areas of the country, the people are small farmers, mostly Christians. In the lowlands they are herders, of the Moslem faith. There is a sizable working class in the cities.

The Eritreans under Ethiopian rule are exploited and oppressed. Wages are kept very low; labor unions and independent political parties are outlawed; the population has to pay outrageous taxes to prop up the Ethiopian regime; and they live under brutal government repression.

In the Ogaden region similar conditions exist. The Ogaden is located in the southeast corner of the Ethiopian empire. It is a dry region, mostly desert. The people are ethnic Somalis, who make a living as nomadic herders, going from place to place in search of water and grazing land. Since Ethiopia seized the Ogaden at the turn of the century, the people have been subjected to high taxes and to religious persecution. The Ogaden Somalis are Moslems, while their Ethiopian rulers are Christians. The people of the Ogaden are ethnically and culturally the same as the Somalis of neighboring Somalia.

Russian imperialism aids Ethiopian regime

Of these two liberation struggles, the Eritrean is closer to victory. After 17 years of guerrilla war, the Eritrean forces control 85 percent of the country. Only the five largest cities remain in Ethiopian hands. The Eritreans have surrounded them and are subjecting them to daily bombardment. If it were not for imperialist intervention on the side of Ethiopia, the total liberation of Eritrea would be only a matter of time.

In the Ogaden, the Somalis last year took advantage of Ethiopia's internal instability and the fact that the Ethiopian army was pinned down in Eritrea. Backed by neighboring Somalia's arms, troops, and air power,

the people of the Ogaden drove the Ethiopian 3rd Division out of the region and seized more than 90 percent of the territory.

The future looked promising. The Ethiopian army was demoralized and falling apart. By December of last year, the final victory of the Ogaden Somalis seemed assured. But then Russian imperialism intervened.

In a few weeks the Russians shipped over \$500 million in arms and supplies to the Ethiopians, in one of the biggest airlifts in history. They sent 2,000 Russian advisors and more than 10,000 Cuban troops to strengthen the Ethiopians. Meanwhile, Somalia was unable to persuade the U.S. and its allies to supply it with arms of any type.

Backed up by Russian arms and Cuban troops, an Ethiopian force of 75,000 launched a major offensive in the Ogaden on January 22. The Somalis had to retreat because they had nothing to match the Ethiopians' increased firepower. On March 9, Somalia's government (under heavy pressure from U.S. imperialism) announced that it was withdrawing its forces from the Ogaden. Their withdrawal leaves the people of the Ogaden at the mercy of the Ethiopian and Cuban troops. As of this writing, one-third of the region has already been seized. The rest will be overrun in a few days.

It is too early to say definitively what will happen now on the Horn of Africa. Neither the Eritreans nor the Somalis are in a position to fight a conventional war with Ethiopia. The Somalis appear to have been effectively put out of action. But the Eritreans are in a better position to wage a long-term guerrilla struggle. Their forces are highly motivated, they are well dug in, and they have the overwhelming support of the population.

However, the newly-arrived planes and tanks are bound to hurt the Eritrean struggle. Moreover, the Ethiopian troops stationed in the Ogaden will soon be moved to Eritrea. The Eritreans will probably survive the onslaught, although they will undoubtedly suffer serious setbacks and may have to abandon the cities they have captured.

The wars in the Ogaden and Eritrea are a result of the historic oppression of peoples that resulted from the imperialist carve-up of Africa. In the 1880s and 1890s the European imperialists divided Africa among themselves without any regard for the Africans' ethnic, religious, or linguistic boundaries.

The borders often cut up major ethnic groups among several colonies.

More often still, whole peoples were incorporated in colonies where they came to be dominated by other ethnic groups. These colonies eventually became today's African states.

The Horn of Africa is typical of this history. Eritrea was an Italian colony up to the end of World War II. In 1952 U.S. imperialism, acting through the United Nations, handed Eritrea over to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, without consulting the Eritrean population. Selassie's rule proved to be brutally repressive. He imposed Amharic as the official language. He outlawed all independent political parties, shut down newspapers, banned trade unions, and arrested or shot all opposition. In 1958 his troops put down a general strike by firing machine guns on the workers.

The history of the Ogaden and Somalia is similar. After Ethiopia's King Menelik II defeated the Italians at Adowa in 1896, the European powers decided to cut him in on the imperialist action. Somalia was divided five ways: the Ogaden went to Ethiopia; three

pieces went, respectively, to Britain, France, and Italy; and a fifth piece became part of British-ruled Kenya, where it remains to this day.

In 1960 the imperialists allowed the British and Italian-held sectors to merge and form the independent state of Somalia. Beginning in 1961, the Somalis of the Ogaden fought a long guerrilla struggle to kick out the Ethiopians and join Somalia. The Ethiopians finally stamped it out in 1970 after Somalia's current state-capitalist government of Siad Barre betrayed the struggle to make a deal with Selassie.

Dergue continues national oppression

Selassie fell in September 1974. He was replaced by the current military government, known as the Dergue (pronounced Derg). The Dergue wraps itself in "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric, but it has pledged to continue Selassie's policies of national oppression.

To preserve the empire, the Dergue is following a domestic policy of total regimentation of the population and widespread terror against real and imagined opponents. The Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU) has been banned since December 1975. It has been replaced with a government-controlled bureau which all unions must join and obey. Militant workers have been arrested or shot and many unions have been disbanded. Neighborhood committees, called *kebeles*, have been organized to control the population all the way down to the city block level.

Meanwhile, thousands are killed on the streets every week in a gruesome campaign to stamp out all opposition to the government. These policies further prove that, instead of socialism, the Dergue is building a brutally centralized state-capitalist system, with the army bureaucracy as the new ruling class.

The role that imperialism plays in the Horn of Africa can be seen by looking at the Dergue's foreign policy. The Horn of Africa is extremely important to the imperialist powers. Whoever controls the Horn controls access to

(Continued on next page)

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(Continued from previous page)
 the Red Sea, which is Europe's main trade route to Asia and the oil fields of the Middle East. The Dergue has used its strategic location astride the Horn to enter into a marriage of convenience, first with the U.S. imperialists and now with the Russians.

The Dergue provides the imperialists a secure base of operations on the Horn. In return, it gets military aid and political support for its own imperialist policies in Eritrea and the Ogaden.

After coming to power, the Dergue found it convenient to deal with the U.S., which had been Selassie's main backer. However, the changing fortunes of war led to shifts in the imperialist line-up. Early last year, when the Dergue began to get clobbered in Eritrea and seemed to be losing its grip at home, Carter decided to back off somewhat in his support.

The Dergue lost patience with Washington and in April 1977 turned to Moscow. A new imperialist deal was worked out in which the U.S. got kicked out of Ethiopia and Russia came in.

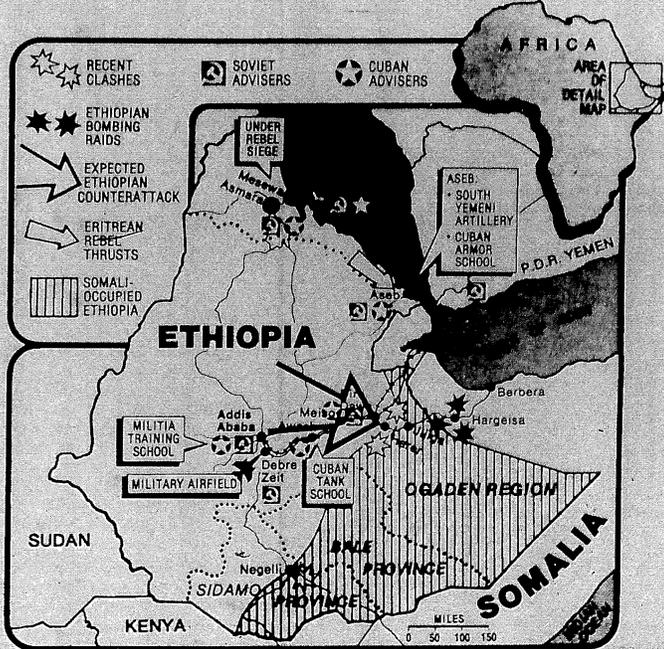
Before that time, the Russians had been the main backers of Somalia's state-capitalist military government of Siad Barre. Barre had provided them with important naval facilities on the Horn. But after the April agreement, it

and the international class struggle. Successful struggles for national self-determination weaken the imperialist system and help to open up the class struggle in the countries involved. Most important, the class-conscious workers throughout the world must support struggles for national liberation if they are to win the oppressed nationalities to a program of socialist revolution.

Much of the U.S. and international left doesn't share this point of view. These forces are following a completely reactionary line on events in East Africa. Instead of basing themselves on the struggles of the masses, they are taking their positions on the basis of what this or that imperialist or capitalist power is doing.

Until last year, the Maoists were very quiet about East Africa. Following China's lead, the Maoists were quietly behind the Dergue, because—like China—the Dergue was an ally of U.S. imperialism. Only when the Dergue gave U.S. imperialism the boot did the Maoists—and China—begin denouncing that government as a "fascist military dictatorship."

Pro-Russian and pro-Cuban leftists are no better. These forces supported the Eritreans and Somalis up to last April, and they condemned the Dergue



became increasingly clear that the Russians were ready to go all the way with Ethiopia. On November 13, 1977—at the height of the Ogaden conflict—Barre kicked out the Russians and turned to the U.S. for military aid.

As a result of this switch, the Dergue got a new imperialist sponsor, which stepped up deliveries of arms and aid. But Somalia got nothing. The U.S. refused to arm Somalia because it did not want to alienate the capitalist governments of Black Africa. All of these governments are behind Ethiopia in its grab for the Ogaden, because they all have oppressed peoples within their own frontiers. The neo-colonial Black states of the Organization of African Unity fear that a victory by the Ogaden Somalis might inspire oppressed peoples within their own frontiers to fight for self-determination.

The real losers in this imperialist chess game are the oppressed peoples of Eritrea and the Ogaden, who must now fight virtually unaided against the strengthened Ethiopian dictatorship.

Revolutionary Marxists support the right of the Eritreans, the Ogaden Somalis and all other oppressed peoples within Ethiopia to freely determine their own political fate. Our support is not affected by what side Russia, the U.S. or any other imperialist power takes in East Africa.

Instead, our support is based on the

as "fascist." But when the Dergue switched sides, they also switched sides. A typical example is the Workers World Party. It used to be a vocal opponent of the Dergue, calling it "an imperialist-backed fascist junta which parades itself as 'socialist'" (Workers World, May 28, 1976). But now that Russia and Cuba are behind the Dergue, Workers World praises "the Ethiopian revolution" led by the "revolutionary government."

The Maoists and pro-Moscow Stalinists don't give a damn what happens to the oppressed masses of Eritrea and the Ogaden. They don't base their positions on the requirements of the class struggle, but on the requirements of this or that state-capitalist power's foreign policy.

Unlike these groups, we don't look to the state-capitalist countries or the Dergue to make the socialist revolution in the Horn of Africa or anywhere else. We see the socialist revolution emerging from a very different quarter, namely the international working class. We call on the workers to rise up, smash the capitalist ruling class, and set up a revolutionary workers' government. As part of their struggles they must support the Eritrean and Somali struggles for self-determination. In this way, they can build a revolutionary alliance with the oppressed nationalities that are fighting reactionary regimes in the Horn of Africa and throughout the world.

World in Revolution



Masses rebel against Iranian dictatorship

On February 18, a massive rebellion broke out in Tabriz. Iran's second largest city. The masses were protesting the death of 70 people in a previous rebellion in the city of Qom on January 9. The demonstrators in Tabriz attacked the headquarters of the National Resurgence Party, the only legal political organization in Iran. They also set fire to four banks and damaged 69 others. Over 100 people were killed in Tabriz by police or army troops. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's government also jailed over 700 militants.

The shah's regime is one of the most brutal in the world. His secret police, SAVAK, has jailed or murdered over 100,000 political prisoners. But mass opposition to the shah has been growing steadily. Last November 15, 4,000 students in Teheran demonstrated against government repression. On the same day, thousands of Iranian students in the U.S. massed in Washington, D.C. to protest the shah's visit here. These latest rebellions in Qom and Tabriz are the largest anti-government protests in 15 years.

The shah has been building Iran into an imperialist power in the Middle East. But now these mighty rebellions at home may force him to beat a retreat. The more problems he has at home, the less can he throw his weight around in neighboring countries.

Students in Ghana take to the streets

Militant students in Ghana have gone into the streets to oppose the March 30 referendum for a "national union government." The proposal is a cover-up for continued military rule.

On January 13, students in Legon burnt Colonel Acheampong in effigy (Acheampong is the head of the regime). This touched off a struggle with riot cops. At the University of Ghana, in Accra, and the University of Science and Technology, in Kumasi, students went on strike against the regime. Troops were sent in to break up these protests. Government thugs have also broken up meetings organized by the Professional Bodies Association, which demands an immediate return to civilian rule. Meanwhile, the state-controlled newspapers and radio are carrying on a propaganda campaign supporting the referendum.

The government is in trouble. Its policies have ruined the Ghanaian economy. Inflation in Ghana has skyrocketed to 150 percent a year. The national debt zoomed to \$720 million in 1977. Food shortages, hoarding and famine are spreading across the country. Now the military is trying to head off another political crisis by pretending to set up a civilian government. But its proposal starts out by banning all political parties. It also allows military officers to resign their posts and run as civilians. Acheampong and other military leaders are expected to resign and run for political office. With the army to back them up, these so-called civilians will continue to oppress the Ghanaian people.

It's doubtful that Acheampong's rigged referendum will end the struggle for freedom in Ghana. However, for the Ghanaian people to win real freedom, the workers, students, and peasants will have to join together in a revolutionary struggle to smash capitalism.

Anti-fascist demos banned in Britain

On February 22, the British government ordered a two-month ban on political demonstrations in the London area. The ruling class wants to suppress working-class campaigns to drive the fascist National Front off the streets.

For the past several years the National Front has organized racist attacks on the 1.9 million West Indians, East Indians and Pakistanis living in Britain. Trade union militants, leftist organizations and community groups have mobilized militant demonstrations against the Front's attacks. In the latest of a long series of mobilizations, 700 East Indian youth smashed a group of National Front thugs in Bolton, last February 10. But now, under the ban, the fascists will have a free hand to spread their filth. Militants who try to stop them will end up in jail.

While the Labour Party government defends the fascists, the Conservative Party is trying to return to power by making an open appeal to racist voters. On January 31, Margaret Thatcher, head of the Conservatives, warned that the country "might be swamped by people with a different culture." She wants a ban on the immigration of Black and Brown peoples.

As British capitalism staggers from crisis to crisis, the bourgeois politicians will step up their open appeals to racism and their defense of the fascists. By attacking the most oppressed, they hope to split the workers and buy themselves a little time.

Italian Communist Party backs government

On March 8, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti worked out a deal with the Communist Party and three smaller parties to form a new government. The agreement ended seven weeks of government crisis. For the first time since 1947, the Communist Party will formally support the government's economic program. This means a new series of attacks on the workers. The program already calls for a \$3.5 billion tax increase.

The long negotiations leading to the agreement helped defuse the working-class upsurge which was gathering strength last winter. In December, over 200,000 workers marched in Rome demanding jobs and economic reforms. But the workers' momentum died down after Andreotti resigned on January 16. Communist Party leaders downplayed mass action while they maneuvered for a role in the government. It remains to be seen, however, whether the new government can prevent workers' struggles from breaking out again.



Luis Lausell, president of UTIER, addresses meeting in front of Capitol building, San Juan.

Class Struggle Grows in Puerto Rico

Colonial Government Attacks Strikers

BY CLIFF GORDON

A major working-class battle is being fought in Puerto Rico. Strikes by the Electrical and Irrigation Workers Union (UTIER) and the United Workers of the Metropolitan Bus Authority (TUAMA) are now entering the third month with no end in sight. The strikes are a test of strength between the Puerto Rican labor movement and the U.S.-dominated colonial regime.

Since December 27, 6,200 electrical workers have been striking the Water Resources Authority (AFF), which controls all of the island's electric generating power. In San Juan, 1,700 bus drivers and mechanics have been out against the Metropolitan Bus Authority (MBA) since January 10. While Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo is stepping up government threats and violence against the workers, particularly the UTIER, neither union is backing down on demands for big wage increases.

Unions and picket lines attacked

TUAMA has not negotiated with the MBA since late January. UTIER broke off talks with the AFF in mid-February after the government met the union's compromise proposal for an 81 cent an hour wage increase with an offer of only 31 cents. With neither union willing to re-open talks with the government, the strikes are being fought out on the picket lines.

On February 18, the government retaliated with a police attack on UTIER pickets in front of the Puerto Nuevo thermoelectric plant. As the strikers tried to stop scabs from entering, the police shot down two workers and injured 20 others with clubs.

The government has also filed a law suit against UTIER, claiming \$3.5 million in damages for acts of sabotage. While workers have taken action against the colonial government's property to help win the strike, the law suit is nothing but a propaganda trick. Barcelo's own agents have been blowing up power lines from the beginning of the strike as part of a government campaign to turn the Puerto Rican people against the strikers. Using newspapers, radio and TV, Barcelo's government is also playing up UTIER President Luis Lausell's position as a

leading member of the pro-independence Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The strike is presented as a PSP plot to ruin the economy for its own political advantage.

Barcelo on the defensive

So far, Barcelo's efforts to isolate UTIER have failed. The day after the Puerto Nuevo shootings, over 5,000 rallied in San Juan to support the striking unions. Nearly 60 unions have joined the Inter-Trade Union Committee to protect UTIER and TUAMA from government repression. Even TUAMA President Jorge Pazol, who voted for Barcelo last year, has been forced to denounce Barcelo's anti-labor policy. Recent reports indicate that the fire fighters' union may join UTIER and TUAMA in striking for wage increases.

National Guard troops have been on alert for weeks. But faced with the powerful solidarity of the Puerto Rican working class behind the strike, Barcelo has not dared to use them. He is also hesitant about bringing in scabs against UTIER on a large scale, although AFF management has been threatening to do this.

Behind the bitter struggle over these strikes is the possibility of a new wave of anti-colonial revolt among the Puerto Rican working class. The worsening economic crisis in Puerto Rico is strengthening anti-imperialist sentiment. Under the heel of U.S. rule, unemployment is nearing the 50 percent level. Two-thirds of the Puerto Rican people are eligible for food stamps. Inflation is pushing the masses of Puerto Rican workers even further into poverty.

Through smashing these strikes, Barcelo hopes he can hold down wages in Puerto Rico and attract more investment to stimulate the economy. This would also demoralize the labor movement before the workers develop the confidence to make their struggle political and fight directly for the liberation of Puerto Rico from U.S. rule.

Beyond this, Barcelo needs a victory over UTIER and TUAMA to further his strategy for making Puerto Rico the 51st state of the U.S. Barcelo sees statehood as a way to deal a setback to the national liberation movement that would take it years to overcome. He also wants the federal economic aid

and benefits which statehood would bring to help ease the economic crisis.

The chief internal obstacle in the way of Barcelo's ambition for statehood is the militant labor movement in Puerto Rico. While wages remain far lower in Puerto Rico, the trade unions have made progress in closing the gap with the U.S. As a result, U.S. corporations no longer view Puerto Rico as a primary source of cheap labor. Instead, the U.S. capitalists are now using Puerto Rico mainly as a tax shelter for banking operations and industries such as oil refining, which employ little labor.

U.S. investments in Puerto Rico are exempt from almost all taxation. They are not subject to federal regulations dealing with environmental protection and health and safety standards for workers, or to other social legislation. If Puerto Rico becomes a state, it will lose these remaining attractions for U.S. business. So, Barcelo is trying to convince the U.S. ruling class that he can compensate for this by crushing the trade unions and restoring Puerto Rico as a pool of cheap labor for U.S. industries.

Last fall, Barcelo ordered brutal acts of repression against the labor movement. In October, a secret police "death squad" tortured Juan Rafael Caballero, a Teamster shop steward, to death. When an influential anti-labor lawyer from the U.S. was assassinated, another Teamster organizer, Mi-

guel Cabrera, was framed for his death.

With these and similar moves Barcelo created an atmosphere of terror and fear in preparation for a strike against UTIER, his main target. This has led the rest of the Puerto Rican labor movement in the struggle for higher wages. Its wage scale is the highest on the island. UTIER's wages close ties with the PSP, the main independence party. To keep the working class in line, Barcelo is purging the militant, pro-independence political forces.

In December, Barcelo provoked the UTIER strike by countering the union's demand for a \$1.4 an hour wage increase with an unacceptable offer of 18 cents. With UTIER on strike, Barcelo felt he could no longer power shortages and the threat of serious economic trouble as justification for breaking the union with force.

General strike needed

While for the moment Barcelo is blocked from using troops, the police attack and other incidents show that he has not given up. The labor movement must continue to raise the level of action in support of UTIER and TUAMA.

The next step in the struggle is to build for a general strike against government repression and to win the strikers' demands. To allow the struggle to go on as risks exhausting the workers and their supporters and lead to defeat. A general strike, on the other hand, can bring the entire strength of the Puerto Rican working class into action at the same time and pressure Barcelo into backing down. The formation of the broad based Inter-Trade Union Committee indicates that real rank-and-file support for a general strike could be organized in almost every union in the coalition.

Puerto Rico can never be free as long as it is owned and run by U.S. imperialism. Statehood and all the other proposals for making Puerto Rico a permanent part of the U.S. will not change the colonial exploitation and oppression which the U.S. ruling class inflicts daily upon the people of Puerto Rico.

As the present strikes demonstrate it is the working class which has the power, determination, and ability to unify the masses of oppressed people which are necessary to lead the revolution against U.S. imperialism. A victory in these strikes will be an important opening for the workers to strengthen the national liberation movement under their class leadership. □

Jamaican Workers Win Victory

The biggest sugar strike in Jamaican history has ended in victory for the workers. Twenty thousand field and factory workers waged a month-long struggle against the government-owned National Sugar Company (NSC) and the Sugar Producers Federation (SPF), a group dominated by the big private land owners. In early March, the strikers won a 20 percent across-the-board wage increase (about \$9—Jamaican). This brings the average wage in the industry up to about \$53 per week (about \$39 U.S.). For the first time, the sugar workers also won a pension plan.

The sugar workers' strike followed a January work stoppage by co-operative farmers. The farmers were protesting the government's failure to repay them \$10 million which it borrowed in 1975 to set up the co-ops. Over 20 co-ops refused to deliver sugar cane to the NSC grinding factories at Frome, Monymusk and Bernard Lodge. This forced management at these factories

to cut back production.

The resulting threat of layoffs at the factories brought the sugar workers into action. Starting with short walk-outs at Frome and Bernard Lodge, a powerful strike movement of factory and field workers developed by mid-February. The workers quickly went past protesting layoffs and began making wage and other demands. By the 21st, 10 of the dozen or so grinding factories were shut down.

The co-op farmers were limited to partially closing operations at the three factories they supplied. The striking sugar workers, however, used their direct control of the factories to paralyze the cane harvest across the island. The big estate owners were forced to let their cane rot in the fields.

The People's National Party (PNP) government of Prime Minister Michael Manley sided squarely with the SPF against the striking unions. The government itself is one of the industry's

(Continued on page 10)

NICARAGUA

Masses Rise Up Against Somoza Regime

For the past month, workers in Nicaragua have fought government troops in armed demonstrations against President Anastasio Somoza's dictatorship. Reports from Nicaragua state: "The situation in the country is insurrectional."

The largest struggles broke out on February 26, after Somoza called a rally to support his regime. Standing behind bullet-proof glass, he declared he would not resign until the next presidential elections in

To win real freedom, the workers must organize their own revolutionary party and fighting organizations to defend the masses both from Somoza and the capitalist politicians

1981. He tried to head off the rebellions by promising election reforms, social security benefits for farm laborers and domestic workers, and

an extra month's salary for all workers.

Workers throughout Nicaragua responded by going into the streets demanding: "Death to Somoza!" "Somoza resign!" and "We want democracy!" In Masaya, the native Nicaraguan (Indian) population rose up in what observers called a "virtual insurrection." In Diriamba, guerrillas from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) joined demonstrators in pitched battles with the National Guard. In Managua, the national capital, militants took on the National Guard in struggles which left at least 10 dead and 50 wounded.

Somoza stays in power

Mass opposition to Somoza exploded in January after his thugs murdered Joaquin Chamorro, a capitalist politician who opposed the government. Chamorro's organ-

ization, the Democratic Liberal Union (DLU), called a national protest strike on January 23. Although the strike shut down Nicaraguan commerce and industry for two weeks, it failed to topple Somoza from power.

The capitalist politicians feared the working class even more than they opposed Somoza. They refused to arm the workers for an assault against the government. As a result, Somoza was able to wait out the strike and remain in office.

After the strike, DLU leaders congratulated themselves on its peaceful nature and demanded U.S. support. DLU leader Rafael C. Rivas declared: "It was a test of fire for the doctrine of President Carter on human rights. If Somoza does not fall from power after the combined opposition in Nicaragua demonstrated strength, capacity, order and control, the Carter Doctrine will go up in smoke."

But the U.S. has carefully remained neutral. The U.S. ruling class wants only to defuse the rebellion in Nicaragua and keep the country safe as a major base for U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

The U.S. set up the Somoza family as rulers of Nicaragua in 1933. Since then the Somozas have been loyal supporters of U.S. imperial-



Joaquin Chamorro.

ism. They allowed the U.S. to launch its imperialist invasion of Cuba in 1961 from Nicaragua. They even offered to send Nicaraguan troops to fight in the racist war in Vietnam.

The U.S. would like Somoza to step down in 1981 so that it can set up a better-looking cover for imperialist rule. It's unwilling to support the rebellion because it fears a blow-up in Nicaragua could threaten capitalist rule throughout Central America.

No alliance with capitalists

The capitalist opposition in Nicaragua believes it must take power quickly to head off a workers' revolution which might threaten its own wealth and power. One businessman criticized Carter for "talking about human rights and elections when people here are calling for arms to overthrow the dictatorship. This situation can't last until 1981."

Right now the capitalists are issuing militant-sounding appeals supporting the Sandinistas. The Group of Twelve, which led the general strike, said: "It is essential that all Nicaraguans seeking a new and better homeland support the FSLN unreservedly."

They can afford to do this because the Sandinistas have no intention of leading the workers to power. The Sandinista leaders claim to be communists, but they have allied with the capitalists, saying: "First we are Nicaraguans and then we are Marxists."

Revolutionaries in Nicaragua should support every blow the Sandinista military forces can strike against the Somoza regime. But they must reject the Sandinistas' policy of allying with the capitalist oppressors. Instead they must organize the workers and peasants to take power themselves and smash capitalist rule in Nicaragua. To win real freedom, the workers must organize their own revolutionary party and fighting organizations to defend the masses both from Somoza and from the capitalist politicians trying to climb to power on their backs. □



Workers and peasants march during Nicaraguan general strike.

General Strike Fails in Peru

For the second time in seven months, Peru's workers have gone on a general strike against Francisco Morales Bermudez's military government. The strike was called on February 27 by the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers. The confederation demanded the release of 2,000 militants jailed after the last general strike on July 19.

In Lima, the national capital, militant youths took to the streets and fought the riot police. The government jailed at least 185 strikers including 15-20 trade union leaders.

Despite the militancy shown by the youth, the strike failed to shut down

most Peruvian industry. Reports indicate that many of Peru's 2.8 million workers went to work as usual.

The failure of this strike will encourage the military government to step up its attacks on the workers. The ruling class needs to smash the unions to prevent the collapse of capitalism in Peru.

Peru has a foreign debt of more than \$2.6 billion. Over 40 percent of its exports go toward paying off debts to imperialist banks and corporations. Last December 15, the government announced that its foreign currency reserves were exhausted.

Bermudez has begged the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans to shore up the economy. But the IMF has demanded massive attacks on the working class as the price for rescuing Peruvian capitalism. The IMF insists that Peru's government institute wage controls, and that it end the food subsidies the workers depend on to survive.

It was the government's attempt to impose these measures that led to the general strike last July. That strike shut down Lima and 10 other Peruvian cities. Bermudez was forced to retreat and cancel his attacks on the workers.

But now the collapse of the February general strike can sow demoralization among the workers. It can

provide the government with the opening it needs to go on the attack while the workers are disoriented. □

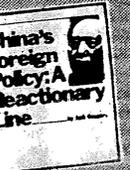
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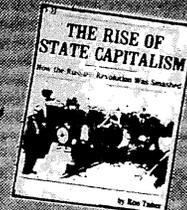
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Last month, February 21, marked 13 years since Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City. For the anniversary of Malcolm X's death, Wayne Gordon gave a talk to the New York branch of the RSL, focussing on Malcolm X's evolution and his contributions to the struggle of Black and all oppressed people against the capitalist system. Below are excerpts from the talk.

BY WAYNE GORDON

It is hard to define Malcolm X in any cut-and-dried fashion, because his life was one of constant change and growth. He spent his early adult years as a pimp, dope pusher and dope user, thief and gangster. He had been demoralized by the special hell that capitalism reserves for Black people. At the same time, Malcolm X always remembered his father—a Garveyite—a militant nationalist who had been murdered by the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1946 Malcolm X was convicted of burglary and sentenced to 10 years in jail. In prison his family brought him the message of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam. After he left prison in 1952, Malcolm X was to become the Nation of Islam's leading spokesman and organizer. He built the organization from 400 in 1952 to 40,000 in 1960.

The message the Muslims reached him with was: "The white man is the devil." It is easy to say that this points to the wrong enemy: the whites as (literally) demons. Instead of the bourgeoisie as material exploiters. But it would be wrong to miss the positive side, the part this notion played in Malcolm X's growth and the growth of the Black movement.

One thing it meant to him was you don't have to hate yourself. To gain self-respect, Malcolm X emphasized learning the true history of Black people, to throw away the fake image of Africa as a land of cannibals, to learn what Black people had to suffer through the slave trade and slavery and the struggle for freedom. The importance of self-pride, of not blaming

taught us to shout and sing and pray until we die, to wait until death, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-hereafter, when we're dead, while the white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on this earth!"

In rejecting the slave psychology of the Christian church, Malcolm X particularly rejected non-violence, pacifism, and all "love thy enemy, turn the other cheek" nonsense.

"Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everybody. But if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery."

As Malcolm X developed the Nation's doctrine of self-defense, it became a call for revolution. In his last

which made the U.S. politically sensitive to how it looked in the eyes of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The integrationists believed that U.S. capitalism was a good system, which left out Black people only because of the prejudices and interests of the Southern wing of the bourgeoisie and white workers. They believed that the liberal bourgeoisie, through the medium of the liberal Democrats, would be willing to ally with the Black movement (under a little pressure). Then the middle-class elements who led the movement would be able to integrate into middle-class America. They would become corporate managers, college professors, civil servants, and suburban homeowners—just like the rest of the middle class.

"Leaders" try to hold back struggle

But to do this, the integrationists had to hold the masses of Black people in check. The urban masses in particular continually tended to go beyond the control of the integrationists. After all, even if all laws behind segregation and discrimination were abolished, the Black ghetto dweller would still be poor, underemployed, with stinking schools and services. The integrationists were afraid that the anger and bitterness of the Black masses would explode in a struggle against the entire capitalist class, not just its Southern branch. When Black people did rise up, as in the rebellions of the mid-'60s, the civil rights "leaders" supported the capitalists' efforts to crush them.

After the 1967 Black uprisings in Newark and Detroit, King and other "leaders" issued a statement supporting President Johnson's calls for "law and order" and denouncing "mob rule." "Non-violent" Martin Luther King, Jr., had stated: "I'm very sorry federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted." Non-violence was for the masses, but violence was all right for the government against the masses. That's why they gave him the Nobel Peace Prize, for pacifying the people.

Malcolm X put no faith in the liberals and their strategy to give the U.S. a better image. "The white liberal differs from the white conservative in only one way: the liberal is more deceitful than the conservative." He gave no support to the Democrats: "I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican. I don't even consider myself an American. . . . I'm speaking as what I am: one of twenty-two million Black people in this country who are victims of your democratic system."

and the poorer Blacks, for whom integration was meaningless. Malcolm X saw a class difference. He compared the first group to the "house slave" and the old plantations and the second group to the "field slave."

"Now then, you have the masses of Black people in this country who are the offshoot of the field Negro, during slavery. They are the masses. They are the ones who are jobless. They are the last hired and the first fired. They are the ones who are forced to live in the ghetto and the slum. They are the ones who are not allowed to integrate. They are not the hand-picked Negroes who benefit from token integration. They are not the bourgeoisie who got the crumbs that fall from the white man's table. They are not the ones who can slip into the White House or these big hotels when the doors are opened up. These are the ones who still are forced to get a third-rate education or forced to work in the worst form of a job. They benefit in no way, shape, or form whatsoever from this thing that is called democracy."

Malcolm X took his stand with the "field Negroes." He stood with the Black masses in their struggle for freedom from reactionary U.S. capitalism. He denounced the civil rights leaders as Uncle Toms who worked to defend the system against the struggle of the masses of Black people.

What Malcolm X had to say to the Black masses was best in its attack on the middle-class integrationists. He was weakest in making positive proposals. The program he had learned from Elijah Muhammad was for the separation of Black people into their own

country, either by going to Africa or by breaking off a piece of the U.S. There was never very clear about how it was to be accomplished. Some people were integrationists. Some people believed that they could break up the country. Some Muslims were reductionists. Some Muslims were nationalists. Some Muslims were praying to Christ.

Muslims avoid civil rights march

With nothing to say positively, the Nation's hands-off approach to the movement. Thousands demonstrated for the Nation of Islam was seen. Hundreds of them formed the cadre of the Nation of Islam, putting their lives on the line. They were helped from the Nation of Islam by these young militants and admired Malcolm X. Malcolm X came down to it, they were leading mass demonstrations. Muslim nationalists were. But Malcolm X wanted the Nation of Islam to be an active part of the movement. According to the Nation of Islam, "Malcolm X was pressing Elijah Muhammad to become involved in the movement. Each time Malcolm X came to the point that Malcolm not to raise the Nation of Islam obeyed."



MALCOLM X "Revolution Knows No Compromis

DON'T TRADE HERE! OWNERS OF THIS BUSINESS SURRENDER TO THE RACE MIXERS

HERE! OWNERS OF BUSINESS SURRENDER TO RACE MIXERS

DON'T TRADE HERE! OWNERS OF THIS BUSINESS SURRENDER TO THE RACE MIXERS



speech as a Black Muslim, the "Message to the Grassroots," he declared:

"Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise. . . . It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These (liberal) Negroes aren't asking for any nation—they're trying to crawl back on the plantation."

Malcolm X's nationalism was directly counterposed to the liberal integrationism of the leaders of the civil rights movement, particularly Martin Luther King, Jr. Through a combination of lawsuits and mass non-violent demonstrations and boycotts, these so-called leaders aimed to pressure the liberal capitalists into forcing the Southern segregationists to drop their most obnoxious laws.

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Last month, February 21, marked 13 years since Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City. For the anniversary of Malcolm X's death, Wayne Gordon gave a talk to the New York branch of the RSL, focussing on Malcolm X's evolution and his contributions to the struggle of Black and all oppressed people against the capitalist system. Below are excerpts from the talk.

BY WAYNE GORDON

It is hard to define Malcolm X in any cut-and-dried fashion, because his life was one of constant change and growth. He spent his early adult years as a pimp, dope pusher and dope user, thief and gangster. He had been demoralized by the special hell that capitalism reserves for Black people. At the same time, Malcolm X always remembered his father—a Garveyite—a militant nationalist who had been murdered by the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1946 Malcolm X was convicted of burglary and sentenced to 10 years in jail. In prison his family brought him the message of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam. After he left prison in 1952, Malcolm X was to become the Nation of Islam's leading spokesman and organizer. He built the organization from 400 in 1952 to 40,000 in 1960.

The message the Muslims reached him with was: "The white man is the devil." It is easy to say that this points to the wrong enemy: the whites as (literally) demons. Instead of the bourgeoisie as material exploiters. But it would be wrong to miss the positive side, the part this notion played in Malcolm X's growth and the growth of the Black movement.

One thing it meant to him was you don't have to hate yourself. To gain self-respect, Malcolm X emphasized learning the true history of Black people, to throw away the fake image of Africa as a land of cannibals, to learn what Black people had to suffer through the slave trade and slavery and the struggle for freedom. The importance of self-pride, of not blaming

taught us to shout and sing and pray until we die, to wait until death, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-hereafter, when we're dead, while the white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on this earth!"

In rejecting the slave psychology of the Christian church, Malcolm X particularly rejected non-violence, pacifism, and all "love thy enemy, turn the other cheek" nonsense.

"Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everybody. But if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery."

As Malcolm X developed the Nation's doctrine of self-defense, it became a call for revolution. In his last

which made the U.S. politically sensitive to how it looked in the eyes of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The integrationists believed that U.S. capitalism was a good system, which left out Black people only because of the prejudices and interests of the Southern wing of the bourgeoisie and white workers. They believed that the liberal bourgeoisie, through the medium of the liberal Democrats, would be willing to ally with the Black movement (under a little pressure). Then the middle-class elements who led the movement would be able to integrate into middle-class America. They would become corporate managers, college professors, civil servants, and suburban homeowners—just like the rest of the middle class.

"Leaders" try to hold back struggle

But to do this, the integrationists had to hold the masses of Black people in check. The urban masses in particular continually tended to go beyond the control of the integrationists. After all, even if all laws behind segregation and discrimination were abolished, the Black ghetto dweller would still be poor, underemployed, with stinking schools and services. The integrationists were afraid that the anger and bitterness of the Black masses would explode in a struggle against the entire capitalist class, not just its Southern branch. When Black people did rise up, as in the rebellions of the mid-'60s, the civil rights "leaders" supported the capitalists' efforts to crush them.

After the 1967 Black uprisings in Newark and Detroit, King and other "leaders" issued a statement supporting President Johnson's calls for "law and order" and denouncing "mob rule." "Non-violent" Martin Luther King, Jr., had stated: "I'm very sorry federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted." Non-violence was for the masses, but violence was all right for the government against the masses. That's why they gave him the Nobel Peace Prize, for pacifying the people.

Malcolm X put no faith in the liberals and their strategy to give the U.S. a better image. "The white liberal differs from the white conservative in only one way: the liberal is more deceitful than the conservative." He gave no support to the Democrats: "I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican. I don't even consider myself an American. . . . I'm speaking as what I am: one of twenty-two million Black people in this country who are victims of your democratic system."

Between the middle-class Blacks who wanted to get into U.S. society

and the poorer Blacks, for whom integration was meaningless, Malcolm X saw a class difference. He compared the first group to the "house slave" of the old plantations and the second group to the "field slave."

"Now then, you have the masses of Black people in this country who are the offshoot of the field Negro, during slavery. They are the masses. They are the ones who are jobless. They are the last hired and the first fired. They are the ones who are forced to live in the ghetto and the slum. They are the ones who are not allowed to integrate. They are not the hand-picked Negroes who benefit from token integration. They are not the bourgeoisie who got the crumbs that fall from the white man's table. They are not the ones who can slip into the White House or these big hotels when the doors are opened up. These are the ones who still are forced to get a third-rate education or forced to work in the worst form of a job. They benefit in no way, shape, or form whatsoever from this thing that is called 'democracy.'"

Malcolm X took his stand with the "field Negroes." He stood with the Black masses in their struggle for freedom from reactionary U.S. capitalism. He denounced the civil rights leaders as Uncle Toms who worked to defend the system against the struggle of the masses of Black people.

What Malcolm X had to say to the Black masses was best in its attack on the middle-class integrationists. He was weakest in making positive proposals. The program he had learned from Elijah Muhammad was for the separation of Black people into their own

country, either by going breaking off a piece of it. It was never very clear just going to be accomplished. White people were not Black people integrate. Why believe that they would break up the country? A Muslims were reduced to a Nation which was not than praying to Christ.

Muslims avoid civil rights mov

With nothing to say a positively, the Nation to hands-off approach to movement. Thousands demonstrated for their Nation of Islam was seen. Hundreds of formed the cadre of SN putting their lives on th any help from the Mus these young militants and admired Malcolm X came down to it, the were leading mass stru Muslim nationalists wer But Malcolm X wante wanted the Nation of Isl an active part of the m According to the Blac Lomax: "Malcolm was pressing Elijah Muham mission to become involv tions. Each time Malco flat and unequivocal t came to the point that Malcolm not to raise the Malcolm obeyed."



MALCOLM X "Revolution Knows No Compromis

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This was in the context of the post-war prosperity and the Cold War,

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The main ideological influence in the Black community, teaching self-hatred and servility, is the Christian church. Malcolm X attacked it bitterly. He said: "The white man has brainwashed us Black people to fasten our gaze upon a blond-haired, blue-eyed Jesus! We're worshipping a Jesus who doesn't even look like us! . . . The white man has



Non-violent protests against racist discrimination spread across U.S.

MALCOLM X: Revolution vs No Compromise

whom Malcolm X compared to a "slave" of the second world war. The masses of Negroes who are the ones to live in the ghettoes who are the ones to integrate. They are the ones who got the white man's nose who can or these big opened up. I am forced in or forced a job. They form what it is called with the struggle for U.S. capitalist-civil rights worked to the struggle people. I say to the s attack on onists. He tive propo- arned from he separa- their own

Muslims avoided civil rights movement

With nothing to say about what to do positively, the Nation took a sectarian, hands-off approach to the civil rights movement. Thousands of Black people demonstrated for their rights, yet the Nation of Islam was nowhere to be seen. Hundreds of young Blacks formed the cadre of SNCC and CORE, putting their lives on the line, without any help from the Muslims. Many of these young militants disliked King and admired Malcolm X, but when it came down to it, the integrationists were leading mass struggles and the Muslim nationalists were only talking. But Malcolm X wanted to act. He wanted the Nation of Islam to become an active part of the movement.

According to the Black writer Louis Lomax: "Malcolm was consistently pressing Elijah Muhammad for permission to become involved in demonstrations. Each time Malcolm received a flat and unequivocal 'No!' It finally came to the point that Elijah ordered Malcolm not to raise the matter again. Malcolm obeyed."

For example, in 1962 the Los Angeles police attacked the Muslims, starting a gun battle that ended with one Muslim dead and 14 wounded and arrested. Malcolm X flew in from New York and organized an unprecedented unity rally with Black Christian ministers that condemned the LA police. There was talk of some sort of action against the cops. But then Elijah Muhammad suddenly called off the campaign.

Malcolm X's main dissatisfaction with the Nation of Islam's leadership was due to its conservative politics and lack of militancy. From his *Autobiography*, edited by Alex Haley, the liberal author of *Roots*, it looks like he left the Muslims because of its corruption or because he was learning about orthodox Islam. This is true, but it's only a small part of the story. Above all, Malcolm X left the Muslims because he wanted a militant movement, not just a more orthodox religion.

Malcolm X breaks with the Nation

Malcolm X's final break with the Nation of Islam came after the assassination of U.S. President Kennedy. Muhammad had ordered his ministers to keep quiet about it so as not to antagonize anyone. Malcolm X gave a speech; someone asked him about the shooting during the question and answer period and he answered: "Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad." Malcolm X was saying that the leaders of a society that enslaves Black people through violence will often die through violence, and that this was nothing to mourn about. (It is worth noting that Malcolm X's stand set him apart from even supposedly revolutionary organizations like the Socialist Workers Party—SWP—which sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Kennedy.)

At this point he was indefinitely suspended by Muhammad, until he formally quit to form his own Muslim Mosque, Inc., in March 1964.

Once out of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X became an orthodox-Muslim and remained so for the rest of his life. But he also came to see that what the masses needed was a guide to struggle, not another religion. In May 1964 he set up a completely non-religious political organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (named after the Organization of African Unity—OAU—which includes most African governments). He explained:

"I've never tried to take part in anything political. Couldn't see it. For one thing, I was in a religious organization that was talking about something coming by-and-by. And anytime you start thinking about something by-and-by, you can't take hold of anything now-and-now or here-and-here." With this he came to abandon his national-

ism. First he dropped the call for a separate country, re-defining nationalism to mean self-organization of the Black community. He said: "We are not separatists, nor are we integrationists." Eventually he dropped this use of the "nationalism" label also. What moved him especially was his trips abroad, breaking out of his U.S.-limited vision, which the Nation had maintained in spite of its claim to internationalism. In a January 1965 interview with the SWP's *Young Socialist* magazine, Malcolm X said:

"... when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution against

"A slave owner who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning or violence breaks the chains— let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!"

L. Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*

oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social, and economic philosophy was Black nationalism, he asked me very frankly where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances he was a white man....

"So I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of Black nationalism."

In place of nationalism, Malcolm X emphasized the world revolution:

"We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era... It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of

oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter. The Negro revolution is not a racial revolt."

The Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was to be international, including Blacks in the U.S., Canada, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Malcolm X started chapters of the OAAU, composed of U.S. Blacks abroad, in France and in Africa. He intended to ally the OAAU with the OAU, thus tying together all people of African descent. How this would relate to the rest of the oppressed is not clear.

While Malcolm X rejected nationalism, he continued to oppose integrationism. He preferred the slogans of "equality" or "human rights." The program of the OAAU stated that: "We consider the word 'integration' a misleading, false term. Recent experience shows that 'integration' actually



describes the process by which the best contributions of Afro-Americans, in fact of all non-white people, would continue to be absorbed without note or exploited to benefit a fortunate few while the masses of both white and non-white people would remain unequal and unbenefited."

The OAAU also called for the self-organization of Blacks, not out of nationalism, but for the practical purposes of struggle. In fact, the whole purpose of the OAAU was militant struggle. Malcolm X wanted his new organization to play a prominent role in leading the Black masses in the fight for freedom.

Free from the restraints of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X could now participate in the Civil Rights Movement. When Martin Luther King, Jr., was arrested in Selma, Alabama, SNCC's young militants invited Malcolm X to speak at a rally against the jailings. Andrew Young, King's aide, was opposed, fearing that Malcolm X would call for violence. Malcolm X promised the organizers that he wouldn't advocate violence and, on this understanding, spoke:

"I do not call for violence, but if a man steps on my toes I will step on his. The white man had better be glad that Dr. King is leading a nonviolent revolution. There are those of us who are waiting for him to fail. Then the real revolution will begin."

He continued to advocate self-defense, calling for the formation of rifle clubs by Black people, "... It is our duty to our people to organize ourselves and let the government know that if they don't stop the Klan, we'll stop it ourselves.... If you and I don't awaken and see what this man is doing to us, then it will be too late. They may have the gas ovens built before you realize that they're already hot."

At the same time he intended to start a voter registration campaign in New

(Continued on page 17)



racist discrimination spread across U.S. in early 1960s (left). Movement remained under control of liberals like Martin Luther King (right).



Racist Ian Smith, flanked by Black puppets, signs phony "majority rule" agreement.

U.S. Speaking Tour Planned for Jamaican Revolutionary

In late April, a leading member of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML)-Jamaica will begin a nationwide speaking tour of the U.S. May Day talks in New York City on April 28 and 29 and Detroit on April 30 will be followed by public talks in Los Angeles and Chicago.

The tour will provide an opportunity for workers in the U.S., Caribbean workers in particular, to hear a first-hand account of the current political situation in Jamaica.

In addition, the RML representative will discuss the tasks of building a worldwide revolutionary party.

RML fights Jamaican capitalism

The political situation in Jamaica today offers enormous opportunities for revolutionary Marxists. Sharp attacks on the Jamaican working class by Prime Minister Michael Manley's fake-socialist government make it clear that the only alternative to increased capitalist misery is the overthrow of Jamaican capitalism and the establishment of workers' and small farmers' rule. The RML is the only organization in Jamaica fighting for a program.

The tour is being sponsored by the Revolutionary Socialist League-U.S., which established formal fraternal relations with the RML last October.

Further details of the tour will be announced in the next issue of the **Torch/La Antorcha**. Anyone interested in setting up a speaking engagement for their trade union, community or student group should contact the closest RSL branch or New York. For further information, call: New York (212) 869-9239; Detroit: (313) 341-1250; Chicago: (312) 226-5915; Los Angeles: (213) 661-5135. □

BLACK PUPPETS FRONT FOR WHITE RULE IN ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 1) some 40,000 whites—one out of every six whites in the country—to live as parasites at the expense of the Black workers and peasants. The guarantee covers those whites who leave the country as well as those who remain.

•Finally, whites will control 28 out of 100 seats in Parliament. It will take only 22 votes to block any changes in these sellout provisions. Thus, Blacks in the new government will be powerless to eliminate the privileges of the white minority.

To weaken opposition to the settlement, Smith's government is trying to cut off support for the Patriotic Front forces by stepping up its war against the people of Zimbabwe. The government has ordered a 24-hour curfew on youths living in border areas where the guerrillas are active. Adults can leave their villages only for short

They worry that Smith can't get a workable peace without including the Patriotic Front in the government. Smith rejected this strategy and made his own deal with more right-wing Black politicians. At first the U.S. criticized Smith's settlement. Now it has called his deal a "significant step," but expressed reservations

triotic Front, refused to join the current negotiations with Smith. While maintaining the guerrilla struggle, they carried on consistent negotiations with U.S. and British diplomats to win the support of these imperialist powers.

In January, they made significant concessions to these imperialists at a meeting in Malta. Before the meeting, the Patriotic Front leaders had insisted on an immediate transfer of power to the Patriotic Front. At Malta they agreed to a deal which would let the British imperialists lead a transition government, while UN troops occupied the country in preparation for a transfer of power to the Black majority.

By relying on the imperialists to force concessions from the Smith regime, the Patriotic Front leaders have weakened the liberation struggle. Nkomo has refused to commit the majority of his forces to the struggle in the hope that a compromise could be reached. While they negotiated with the imperialists, Smith gained time to put over his deal.



Zimbabwe guerrilla fighters.

Black sellouts weaken struggle

The racist white rulers of Zimbabwe have been forced to give up their open dictatorship over the Blacks of Zimbabwe. But through control of the army, police, courts and prisons, they can stop any measures which threaten their control of Zimbabwe's wealth and resources. Instead of smashing white rule, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau have allied with the racists to set up a neo-colonial form of rule in Zimbabwe.

Unfortunately, these traitors appear to have a good deal of influence among the Black masses in Zimbabwe. Many workers and peasants may be tricked into accepting their assurance that the settlement guarantees Black rule. In large part, rejection of the agreement depends on the ability of the guerrilla forces fighting the Smith regime to expose the betrayal.

The Patriotic Front, the coalition behind the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, has condemned the settlement as "the perpetuation of Smith's rule with black faces." They have sworn to continue the war against white rule and the new puppet government. But they are based in Mozambique and Zambia and it is not clear if they have enough support inside the country to counter the lies of the Black puppet leaders.

periods in the afternoon. Curfew violators will be shot on sight.

Smith hopes these repressive measures will isolate the Patriotic Front. He wants to force those who are suspicious of the settlement to abandon the guerrillas and accept his deal as the best they can get.

U.S. imperialism hedging its bets

Another factor in the success of the agreement is the role of U.S. imperialism. For the past two years, the U.S. ruling class has been trying to stop the fighting in Zimbabwe. They fear that the armed struggle will spread, threatening their vast investments in South Africa.

about its chances of success.

If Smith can force the Patriotic Front to end the armed struggle, the U.S. will happily support him. If the fighting continues, the U.S. will try to arrange an imperialist peace between Smith and the Patriotic Front leaders. The main objective of the U.S. is to stop the freedom struggle and they don't give a damn about the aspirations of the Zimbabwean people.

Patriotic Front plays ball with imperialism

The Patriotic Front leaders claim that they will never surrender. Both Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, the main leaders of the Pa-

No deals with Smith!

To win Black rule, the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe must refuse any deal with Smith and his puppets. The current agreement proves that "peaceful" negotiations will only lead to the continuation of white domination. The racist white minority will not give up its privileges without a fight.

Workers and peasants can further their struggle by joining the armed forces of the Patriotic Front. But they should have no illusions in the leaders of the Patriotic Front, who have already demonstrated their willingness to cut a deal with the imperialists. While supporting the armed struggle, workers must begin to build a Leninist revolutionary party that can lead the fight for real freedom through socialist revolution. □

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BY SUSAN EDMUNDS

Last fall, the long-standing hostility between Vietnam and Kampuchea (Cambodia) over the border between the two countries erupted into bloody border clashes. What are the roots of the conflict? Which side, if any, should Marxists support in the war? Are these countries workers' states or capitalist states? If these are workers' states, why are their armies slaughtering each other on the battlefield?

Most of the left organizations have proved to be incapable of providing a clear answer to these questions. The largest of the organizations claiming to be Trotskyist calls itself the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). In the February 6, 1978 issue of *Intercontinental Press/In-precor*, the USec published a statement on the border war. (The Socialist Workers Party is the United States section of the USec.)

The USec statement is a good example of the confusion existing on the left about the Vietnam/Kampuchea border war. Before discussing the USec statement, we should review the position of the RSL.

As we discussed in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*, the hostility between Vietnam and Kampuchea has a long and bloody history. During the 800 years before the French colonization of the area, the Vietnamese ruling classes had been expanding into neighboring territories. Large sections of what had been Kampuchea were annexed by Vietnam.

When the French colonized Southeast Asia in the mid- to late-1800s, they redrew the boundaries to favor Vietnam. In addition, they brought Vietnamese into Kampuchea to be civil servants and hold administrative posts in the colonial government. In these and other ways, imperialism intensified the hostility between the two countries.

During the period of the national liberation struggles, however, the conflicts between the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean were somewhat submerged in the struggle against the immediate imperialist enemy. But the Vietnamese nationalists still attempted to retain their dominant position vis-a-vis the rest of Southeast Asia.

For example, in 1954 the Vietnamese Stalinists signed the Geneva Agreement, in which many of the gains made by the Kampuchean liberation forces were traded away in return for Stalinist control of North Vietnam.

Following the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia in 1975, the Vietnamese rulers continued the expansionist policies of the previous ruling classes. They attempted to extend their power into, and dominate, the neighboring countries. In particular, the Vietnamese Stalinists hoped to set up satellite regimes in Laos and Kampuchea. They succeeded in Laos, but the Kampuchean rulers refused to accept Vietnamese domination.

The question of where to draw the border became one of the major battles in Vietnam's drive to control Kampuchea. At this point, the Vietnamese proposed negotiations. Given Vietnam's greater resources and power there was little doubt that it would be able to call the shots at the negotiating table. Because of this, the Kampuchean rulers refused to negotiate.

After a series of smaller skirmishes between the two countries, full-scale fighting broke out last fall. The Vietnamese army occupied over 400 square miles of Kampuchea and set up their own local governments in these areas.

State-capitalist rule in Southeast Asia

To understand why the victory of the national liberation struggles did not end the historic hostilities between Vietnam and Kampuchea, it is necessary to look at the class nature of the two countries

The reality is that neither Vietnam

nor Kampuchea are any form of socialist societies. They are not workers' states. There was never a proletarian socialist revolution in either country. There was no revolutionary, Marxist party leading the proletariat. The workers didn't set up councils to organize the struggle and form the basis of their own rule. They never rose up and seized the factories, the mines, the banks, and other key sections of the economy. The working class in Southeast Asia did not conquer state power.

Instead, sections of the radical middle class, under the leadership of the Stalinist parties, organized the peasants in mass national liberation movements.

When the Vietnamese and Kampuchean Stalinists took power, they set

The starting point for the USec's analysis is that both Vietnam and Kampuchea are workers' states. They believe that capitalism has been overthrown in both countries and replaced with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the working class in these countries does not actually rule, the USec calls them "deformed workers' states." That is, the leaderships of these countries are bureaucratic and stand in the way of real workers' rule.

The USec never actually discusses this position in their statement on the border war. However, the deformed workers' state analysis has been a long-standing position of the USec. What the USec statement does say is as follows (because of space considerations we can only give a brief summary of the major points):

this, the struggle for internationalism is closely connected to the fight to establish genuine socialist democracy

Not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program for socialist democracy."

4) In the short run, however, "the most pressing issue is the need for an immediate suspension of the armed clashes—the border issue should be settled through open and public negotiations."

Relations of production vs. property forms

Marxism teaches us that the explanation for all social phenomena can be found by looking at their material base. In particular, Marxists look at the fundamental class relationships in society. First and foremost we must examine what the real relations of production are, not the claims of the rulers of a society. In this light, we see that the driving force in history is the conflict between classes—the class struggle—not the good or bad ideas of individuals.

This is the method we use to understand the nature of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean regimes. As we have pointed out in Vietnam and Kampuchea the relations of production—that is, the relation of the producers to the means of production—are capitalist relations.

But rather than looking at the relations of production in Vietnam and Kampuchea today, the USec uses property forms as their foremost criteria. To them, individual, private property equals capitalism. Nationalized property—state property—is equated with a workers' state. They call these socialist property forms.

Since property in Vietnam and Kampuchea is state property, and since the rulers claim to be building socialism, the USec believes that these are workers' states. The fact that there was no proletarian, revolutionary Marxist party leading the working class; that the workers did not seize state power; that they have no control over the state, the economy, or anything else—none of this makes the slightest bit of difference to the USec.

Since the USec starts with this analysis, the border war puts them in hot water. If Vietnam and Kampuchea are workers' states, then they should have the same interests: mutual cooperation, development of the productive forces on an international scale and, along with this, the spreading of the revolution internationally. Having the same interests should lead to friendly and harmonious relations between the two states. But the living reality is clearly quite different. Here the USec is caught in a contradiction. How do they deal with it?

After paying lip service to the history of the region, the USec statement settles on what the "real" root of the conflict is: the ideas of the leaderships of Vietnam and Kampuchea. According,

(Continued on next page)

On the Vietnam-Kampuchea War . . . How the USec Abandons Marxism

up state-capitalist societies. They kicked out U.S. imperialism, which had looted and held back the economies of their countries. They expropriated large sections of the landlords and the capitalists, and attempted to rationalize the economy to end large-scale corruption and starvation.

But the factories and the land were not handed over to the workers and the peasants. They became state property. And the new ruling class—composed of elements of the old middle class and liberal capitalists—controls the state apparatus. The working class has no control over the state or over production.

The workers in Vietnam and Kampuchea are still exploited; they must still sell their labor-power for a wage. The surplus value produced by the workers is still expropriated by an alien class. The forms have changed, but the relations of production—capitalist relations—remain the same.

All capitalism, including state capitalism, is based on accumulation. The capitalist class not only accumulates the surplus value produced by the working class in "its" country, but attempts to loot the surplus produced by workers in other countries. It is this drive for accumulation which results in the expansionism of all capitalist countries. By and large, the stronger and more developed countries will attempt to expand at the expense of the weaker, less developed countries.

This holds true in Southeast Asia. Both the Kampuchean and Vietnamese state capitalists try to expand and extend their power. But Vietnam, which has a larger population and greater resources, holds the edge over Kampuchea and threatens to overpower it.

In the present situation, Marxists must defend Kampuchea's right to exist as an independent nation. Therefore, we support Kampuchea in its war with Vietnam, while giving no political support to its state-capitalist rulers. At the same time, we believe that the working class in both Vietnam and Kampuchea must organize for the revolutionary overthrow of the state-capitalist regimes.

1) The war between Vietnam and Kampuchea will have grave consequences for the peoples of the two countries and for the revolutionary struggles going on throughout Southeast Asia. It will help rebuild the authority of U.S. imperialism.

2) The roots of the conflict can be found in the nationalist and bureaucratic outlook of the leaderships.

"The weight of Stalinism internationally and the Stalinist training of the Vietnamese and Cambodian leaderships partly explain the extent of the resurgence of nationalism in Indochina. Because, too, of the historic animosity deliberately intensified by imperialism . . . and now, because of the extreme bureaucratic deformation that characterizes these regimes, not one of the leaderships—Vietnamese, Laotian, or Cambodian—has been able to avoid taking this course."

3) The goal is growing cooperation between Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea. But this cannot be "imposed." Cooperation will require "federative structures" which "can only arise out of the revolutionary mobilization of the Indochinese masses, with strict respect for the rights of minorities to decide for themselves. Because of

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NYC Workers Must Strike!



New York workers took over lobby of World Trade Center to demand better conditions.

Contract talks in New York City are underway between unions representing hundreds of thousands of city workers and the New York city and state governments. The big question is whether the unions will take militant action to halt the government's drive to make working and oppressed people pay for the city's financial crisis.

Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which represents the subway workers, is bargaining with the state-operated Transit Authority (TA). The present contract expires on April 1. At the same time, a coalition of 50 unions representing city workers is meeting with the deputy mayor in charge of labor relations. This coalition is dominated by the so-called Big Four unions: District Council 37 of AFSCME, the United Federation of Teachers, Local 237 of the Teamsters Union, and the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association. The city workers' contracts expire on July 1.

New York Mayor Koch and the TA are demanding additional large cutbacks in essential social services and the elimination of thousands of jobs. Specifically, Koch and the TA claim they will only agree to no-cost labor contracts. In other words, they will only sign agreements in which gains in wages and benefits are financed by taking back contract gains won in past struggles.

The city and the TA are raising demands for a longer work week, elimination of safety and other work rules, and the elimination of training and education programs (which include affirmative action programs). Both want to reduce overtime rates, junk two to three paid holidays, force the workers to pay for more of their pensions, eliminate personal days, and make sweeping cutbacks in other areas of so-called fringe benefits.

Beyond this, the TA wants an agreement that will allow it to cut up to \$120 million from its budget at the expense of the workers. Koch has set a similar goal of \$400 million to be squeezed out of the city unions. This includes axing 20,000 more city jobs in the next four years. This

would bring the total number of jobs lost since 1975 to over 85,000.

The effects of these attacks are not limited to the union workforce. They are part of Koch's general plans to cut back welfare, education, sanitation, mass transit, health care and other government-funded programs which the masses of people depend on for survival.

The attack on city workers is backed to the hilt by the Carter Administration. Carter has offered the city government federal guarantees for a new issue of city bonds. This bond issue would cover a projected half billion dollar budget gap for the coming year. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal, moreover, has attached a black-mall note to this offer. If the Koch administration signs

an "unacceptable" labor agreement, the deal is off and the city faces bankruptcy.

In response to the government's offensive, the TWU and the coalition of city unions are advancing a modest "hold-the-line" program. Basically, they are asking that wages and health and pension benefits be adjusted to compensate for inflation. They also want wage increases and cost-of-living allowances due under the past contract to be paid immediately. This money had been deferred indefinitely because of the financial crisis.

If city and transit workers are to beat back the government attack, they must strike. They must take their lead from the militant coal miners. Only strike action will force the city's rulers to give the workers what they need. But if strike action is to be effective, city workers and transit workers must strike together. They must organize for a citywide general strike.

City and transit workers must also go past the timid and narrow demands put for-

ward by the union leaders. These demands do not come close to meeting the workers' needs. Moreover, these demands will not win support from the workers who live in New York City. If the city and transit workers are to win, they must build support among the workers in the city. They can do this by demanding, at the least, a restoration of all jobs and services which have been lost to the financial crisis. More than this, they should demand a full-scale public works program to rebuild the city and provide jobs to the 320,000 workers who need them. This public works program should be paid for by taxing the ruling class, not the workers.

Above all, the city and transit workers must organize to place the leadership of the struggle in their own hands. The union leaders cannot be trusted. They engineered a huge sellout last time, and they're working with the city and state government to do the same this time around. To prevent this, city workers must organize rank-and-file committees representing city workers in all unions to unite their struggles and build support among workers throughout the city. Rank-and-file organization and unity can turn ruling-class offensive into a victory for the entire working class. □

USec Abandons Marxism

(Continued from previous page)

to the USec, the Vietnamese and Kampuchean leaders have a narrow and bureaucratic outlook. They have chosen the road of nationalism instead of internationalism. They do not allow for the free expression of socialist democracy. They do not obey Leninist norms in their policy.

And why do the leaders have this outlook, according to the USec? Because of their training in Stalinism, with its theory of socialism in one country. This idea has contaminated even "those countries that had overturned capitalism." It has infected the leaderships with a bureaucratic outlook, leading to "nationalist rivalry."

Under the fine phrases, what the USec is saying is that the cause of the Vietnam/Kampuchea border war is bad ideas, in particular the bad ideas of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean leaderships. The conflict has nothing to do with the class struggle inside Vietnam and Kampuchea, according to the USec. It has nothing to do with the capitalist drive to accumulate and expand.

Ignoring the real class nature of Vietnam and Kampuchea, the USec sees the roots of the border war as bad ideas held by evil men. This isn't materialism—it is pure idealism.

Now, if the problem is bad ideas, one would expect the solution to be good ideas. And at the least, one would think this would mean replacing the people with bad ideas with people with good ideas. The USec does not disappoint us regarding the first.

To replace nationalism they call for cooperation and internationalism. But when it comes to replacing people with bad ideas with people with good ideas, the USec gets quite vague. They call for "federative structures" and a fight for "genuine socialist democracy." Even though they say that "not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable

of putting forward such a program," they never, not once, call for the overthrow of these leaderships.

Tell us, "Trotskyists" of the USec, should the Vietnamese and Kampuchean leaders be overthrown or not? What kind of "revolutionary mobilization of the Indochinese masses" is necessary? And what about the working class? Does it have any part to play in this struggle? To these questions, the important ones for Marxists, the USec has no answers.

The USec doesn't just leave us with vague calls for cooperation and socialist democracy. In their view, these are the long-range goals.

For the immediate future "...the most pressing issue raised today by the outbreak of this conflict is the need for an immediate suspension of the armed clashes. ... The use of weapons should be banned from the resolution of such problems. The border issue should be settled through open and public negotiations."

But who, in the USec's view, is supposed to implement these immediate steps? Who is to suspend the armed clashes? Who is to ban the use of weapons from the resolution of such problems? Who is to negotiate?

Since the only forces remotely capable of doing these things in the immediate future are the Vietnamese and Kampuchean Stalinists, we must assume that the USec is speaking to these people. The USec is in fact trying to give advice to the very leaderships they claim to oppose.

The USec is saying that if the Vietnamese and Kampuchean rulers would only listen to the USec, they would call a halt to the fighting, and peacefully sit down at the negotiating table. They would realize their common interests as leaders of two workers' states, and could negotiate away all their differences.

In other words, the real solution to the border war, whose roots are the bad ideas of the leaders, is for the leaders of Vietnam and Kampuchea to take the advice (the "good ideas") of the USec. And what do these good ideas consist of? Pacifism and liberalism. Moral appeals to "men of power"

to lay down their arms and negotiate.

This in fact is the logical conclusion of the USec's entire method. To establish workers' states you don't need workers' revolutions, according to the USec. Merely nationalizing property, that is, changing the forms of property, will do. The cause of the Vietnam/Kampuchea border war is not the social nature of the regimes, but the bad ideas of the Stalinist leaderships. To change these ideas, these leaderships don't actually have to be overthrown. All you need is an undefined "revolutionary mobilization" to establish "socialist democracy" and "federative structures." But that is for the indefinite future. Today, the Vietnamese and Kampuchean Stalinists should listen to the USec and sit down and negotiate.

To the USec, the working class does not exist. The workers aren't necessary for socialism and are not necessary to end the Vietnam/Kampuchea border war. Other forces—Stalinists, middle-class nationalists, reformists, and phony socialists like the USec—will do things for the working class.

War, brutality and armed conflicts are terrible things. They destroy the lives of millions of innocent people. But wars and armed conflicts are the result of the capitalist system, with its dog-eat-dog competition, and its drive to conquer and expand. War is built into the system—and necessary for its survival. No amount of wishing this away is going to change the brutal character of capitalism.

Marxists are not pacifists. We are not for lying down in the face of capitalist brutality. We prepare for the time when the international working class will take up arms. We prepare for the day the workers will take up arms in the fight for their own freedom. We are working for the time when the workers themselves will overthrow capitalism and establish socialist societies run by and for the workers and all oppressed people. We are struggling to build the international revolutionary party that can lead the fight against the oppressors—capitalist and state-capitalist alike—in the last, final war—the socialist revolution.

Jamaican Workers Win Victory

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biggest investors. Labour Minister William Isaacs acted as chief mouth-piece for the SPF demand that the

Last month's Torch editorial on the Kampuchea/Vietnam border war contained a mistaken formulation. It stated: "We should also support Kampuchea's demands for moderate adjustments in the countries' borders to overcome the effects of French colonialism."

Our defense of Kampuchea's independence does not mean that we support the expansionist aims of the Khmer bourgeois. The only right we defend is the right of the Kampuchean masses to self-determination. This is also true for the Kampuchians living in Vietnam's border regions. It is for them to decide whether they want to join Kampuchea or remain in Vietnam.

strikers return to work as a condition for negotiations.

The workers were not taken in by this trick. They knew if they let go of their strike weapon, the government and private sugar bosses would be quick to take advantage of their weakness and force a rotten settlement on them.

While the strike was a step forward, the wage settlement still leaves sugar workers at poverty levels. They did not win enough to keep up with soaring prices caused by currency devaluations. The strikers were held back by the official leaders of the sugar unions. The bureaucrats were afraid to challenge Manley's policy of limiting annual wage increases to \$10 a week.

The workers could have pressed their strike much further. Sugar ranks behind only bauxite and alumina as a foreign-exchange-earning export. Losses to the 1977-78 crop had already reached nearly \$8 million by the time the strike ended. With the threat of a longer strike and a complete crop di-



Prime Minister Manley at the height of his popularity, 1976. Today, workers are seeing through his phony promises.

saster, the workers had the government pinned to the wall.

The sugar workers' strike was an important outbreak of the growing labor unrest that exists throughout Jamaica. More and more workers are ignoring Manley's pleas to sacrifice in what he calls "the national interest." Working people are coming to see that only the local capitalists and the imperialists

are gaining anything from low wages and high unemployment.

The rising mood of anger and struggle among the working masses goes beyond Jamaica. It is part of a growing rebellion against capitalism that is taking shape in Puerto Rico, Guyana, Trinidad, Nicaragua, Panama and other countries in and near the Caribbean. □

"REVOLUTION KNOWS NO COMPROMISE"

(Continued from page 13)

York City. He wanted Black people in New York to develop political power. To do this, Malcolm X wanted Black people to register independently of the Democratic and Republican parties. And he wanted the OAAU to organize political clubs and run independent candidates.

The aim of this campaign was not at all clear. Clubs of independent voters that run candidates could mean a new Black party, but Malcolm X had considered and finally rejected the idea of organizing a new party. In theory the new organization could balance between the Democrats and Republicans, throwing its votes in close elections—except that Malcolm X despised and hated both parties as enemies of the Black people. What is important to remember is that, when every Black leader was tied to the Democrats, Malcolm X was denouncing both parties and calling for political organization independent of them. Further, that he was uniquely able to combine advocating armed self-defense with advocating electoral action.

Malcolm X's confusion was due to his maintaining his revolutionary desires but not having found a program that would show how to achieve them. The way out that he sought was in scientific socialism. In fact, his two international travels had impressed him with the popularity of socialism:

"Things are very different in Europe and Africa. There are communists and socialists all over and no one makes a big deal out of it. They can't imagine how narrow-minded this country is."

Speaking for the OAAU in Harlem, he said: "You can't operate a capitalist system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a blood-sucker. . . . He's got to get it from . . . somewhere or someone other than himself. So, when we look at the African continent. . . we find that the nations in Africa are developing socialist systems to solve their problems."

This turn to socialism was the logical next step forward for Malcolm X, following his rejection of both integrationism and nationalist-separatism. Unfortunately, he did not develop a class analysis of the international working class against the international capitalist class. He continued to have illusions in the fake-socialist rulers of Africa and Asia. He continually pressed the OAU leaders to take the U.S. before the United Nations for violation of "human rights" and was very disappointed when they failed to do it.

He was prepared to work with whites in alliance. "I for one will join with

anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth." But he saw himself as allying with white militant students or white organized revolutionaries, but not as part of a united class struggle.

Malcolm X: A great revolutionary

The reasons for this weakness on Malcolm X's part are not hard to find. Theoretically, he remained a Muslim, which still tied him to the sheiks, emirs, and Arab military dictators who were fellow Muslims, brothers under Allah. In addition, during this period white workers were quite conservative. Malcolm X didn't see any section of white workers in the U.S. to make an alliance with.

Finally, there was the lack of any organization which was capable of teaching scientific socialism in the course of fighting for the rights of Black people. Malcolm X despised the Socialist Party and Communist Party for supporting Johnson against Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election:

"If Johnson had been running all by himself, he wouldn't have been acceptable by himself. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was the shrewd capitalists. The shrewd imperialists knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative and had the whole world, even the so-called intellectuals who call themselves Marxists and other things, hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater."

"I have to say this. Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected because he's supposed to be a man of peace; and he has troops invading the Congo right now and invading Saigon. . . ."

Malcolm X had nothing to learn from such "socialists."

The Socialist Workers Party provided him with a platform. After he was thrown out of the Nation, they let him use their hall, and sponsored forums by him. They had a unique opportunity, but unfortunately, they also had nothing to teach him. At that time, the Socialist Workers Party was tailing Black nationalism. Instead of explaining to people that nationalism was a dead-end strategy, which did not get to the heart of Black oppression—capitalism—the SWP merely praised it without criticisms. Arguing that "consistent nationalism leads to socialism" they failed to fight for the program of socialist revolution. They refused to fight to convince Malcolm X to reject nationalism fully in favor of Marxism. In fact, Malcolm X had already begun to break from nationalism, while the SWP was still arguing for nationalism. In other words, Malcolm X had a more advanced, Leninist position on nationalism than did the SWP!

By this time (late 1964 and early 1965), Malcolm X hardly had an organization and he was confused about what road he was taking. But he was still a threat to the bourgeoisie, so they had him killed. Malcolm X had predicted his own murder:

"In the racial climate of this country today, it is anybody's guess which of

the 'extremes' in approach to the Black man's problem might personally meet a fatal catastrophe first—"non-violent" Dr. King or so-called "violent" me."

Today Malcolm X is popular. There are King-Malcolm X centers at the institutions of bourgeois learning; King-Malcolm X Democratic clubs in Black districts; movies about him are shown on Public Broadcasting; his **Autobiography**, "properly" edited by Haley, has become a best seller. Even the Muslims have named their New York mosque after him.

But during his life, he was hated by the "respectable" press and "respectable" Black leaders. When he said that "the chickens came home to roost" about Kennedy, he was denounced. But when he was shot, the editorials declared: "He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword."

Malcolm X never became a Marxist. He never fully understood the nature of capitalism and the need for a working-class socialist revolution to overthrow it. But despite this, Malcolm X was a great revolutionary. He hated the United States society. He hated its racist rulers and the Uncle Tom civil rights leaders. He stood foursquare with the Black masses and the oppressed people throughout the world. He told the truth as he saw it. And he refused to be bought. By the time of his death he was moving toward a revolutionary socialist perspective. Whether he would have got there we don't know. But for what he did say and what he did do, and what he fought for, Malcolm X deserves to be remembered by all workers of all races and nationalities. □

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